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14 June 1984

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ARMENIAN, FRENCH REACTION TO ALFORTVILLE EXPLOSIONS REPORTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 5 May 84 pp 1, 11

[Article by J. M. Durang-Souffland]

[Text] "At the time, I thought, and I was not the only one, that the coffee machine had just blown up..." Still in shock, half dazed, the man looked at what remained of the Tomtip tobacconist-pub located on Charnot Square in Alfortville (Val-de-Marne), opposite the concrete hall that accommodates the weekly market. Seats overturned and ripped open, the window shattered, the machines useless. "It's a miracle there were no deaths!" a fireman said.

It was at 5.05 pm, on Thursday, 3 May, that the explosion took place. There were many customers in the establishment, young people who had come to play the pinball machine, tobacconist's customers. The attack wounded 11 persons--customers or passers-by--2 of them rather seriously.

The panic was already at its peak when a second explosion rang out, less than 2 minutes after the first. This time, it was the monument commemorating the Armenian genocide, unveiled on Sunday, 29 April, by Joseph Franceschi, secretary of state for public security and mayor of Alfortville (LE MONDE of 2 May), that was aimed at. The explosion damaged the pedestal, made of sandstone paving blocks, supporting the still intact stele--a carved Armenian cross--and shattered the plaque on which was noted: "To the memory of the 1,500,000 Armenians who were victims of the genocide ordered by the Turkish Government in 1915."

Very quickly, help was organized. While some 50 firemen, rushed from fire stations in neighboring communes, evacuated seven of the wounded by helicopter to the CHU [University Hospital Center] in Cretail, large contingents of police were positioned throughout the Carnot district. Superintendent Marcel Morin, head of the criminal squad, was on the spot. About 5.45 pm, Gaston Defferre and Joseph Franceschi, returning from a visit to the police inspectors' school in Cannes-Ecluse (Seine-et-Marne), got out of a helicopter. A little while after they had left, a third, less powerful device, hidden in a clump of charcoal at the entrance to the Leo-Lagrange high school located 50 meters from the monument, exploded at 6.35 pm, only slightly wounding two passers-by. No one had claimed responsibility for any of the three attacks by the end of the morning on Friday.

Emotions were very high in this district which the inhabitants of Alfortville readily refer to as the "Armenian quarter": Some 6,000 live here out of a total population of 36,000. "There are boobytrapped cars," people were saying. As a precaution, the police evacuated a Monoprix store, then the city's Armenian arts center.

"The Time for Silence is Past"

"Turkey, murderers!" chanted the young Armenians massed behind the barriers set up by the police to block access to the entire area where the attacks had taken place. "It is out of the question for us to be silent! Today we are taking up arms. We have the right to express ourselves... The violence goes back to 1915: at present, the time for silence is past. We are going to show that we exist," one of the young people said. "Sunday, for the unveiling of the monument," a woman said, "not a single reporter was present! Nevertheless, we had informed the press... We have to be killed, slaughtered, for the media to deign to be interested in us."

For Jean-Louis Auriche, municipal councillor and local representative of the RPR [Rally for the Republic], "putting up this stele is a provocation. How is it that Mr Franceschi, the best placed man in France to know the meaning of terrorism, did not take all the vitally necessary precautions? That he may have had excellent political reasons for deciding to set up this monument is one matter. But that no deliberation by the municipal council looked into this matter is something else! We knew nothing about this decision..."

The shopkeepers had lowered their metal shutters. At the approach of night, everyone was returning home, silently. In the square, firemen were sweeping up the fragments of the Tomtip's windows. In the pub, pyrotechnists were trying to find fragments of the explosive device in the rubble. "From now on," a passer-by said, "we will no longer sleep peacefully... 'They' will begin again, here and elsewhere..."

This Friday evening at 7 pm, a protest demonstration will take place in Alfortville, in answer to the appeal of the Armenian National Movement, led by Ara Toranian.

[Boxed Insert]

The Alfortville attacks have brought about immediate reactions from Armenian organizations and the majority political parties. The Alfortville Armenian Association expressed "its profound indignation" and demanded that the authors of "these heinous attacks be actively hunted out and punished." The Marseilles section of the Committee for the Defense of the Armenian Cause and the Armenian Youth of France considered, for their part, that "the attacks can only be the result of the hate campaign carried out by the Turkish authorities against the Armenians."

Ara Toranian, spokesman for the Armenian National Movement (MNA), considering that what was involved was a "challenge to the French authorities" and

regretting that "no protection is being given to Armenians," stated that from now on Armenians must "themselves provide for their security." Finally, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation Dachnag (Armenian Socialist Party) "warned" the authors of the attacks against "the risks of escalation."

Joseph Franceschi, state secretary for public security, stated: "I am shocked and deeply distressed. It is not with vile acts such as these that ideas are put forward." Jean Popereen, national secretary of the PS [Socialist Party], expressed his solidarity with the Armenians in France and recalled that "the Socialist Party has always shown its active sympathy toward the Armenian community and is continuing to expand its efforts for effective international recognition of the Armenian genocide." On behalf of the Communist group in the National Assembly, Guy Decolone gave prominence to "the link between the Turkish Government's statements after the unveiling of a monument in Alfortville to the memory of the Armenian genocide and the attacks of 3 May."

9434

CSO: 4619/52

LITTLE INTEREST IN OIL EXPLORATION SHOWN

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 18 Apr 84 p 17

[Article by Avraham Dishon: "Big Oil Companies Do Not Show Interest in Oil Exploration on Israel's Shores; Israel's National Oil Company Issued International Bid for Selling Rights to Oil Exploration on the Mediterranean Shore But No Company Submitted a Bid"]

[Text] Hopes of finding off-shore oil on the Mediterranean coast of Israel in commercial quantities were dashed recently as a result of the refusal of the world's large oil companies to invest their money in oil exploration off Israel's shores.

Several months ago, Israel's national oil company, HANA Company, invited bids from the world's large oil companies, who are engaged in oil explorations. Rights for oil exploration off Israel's shores were offered.

The deadline for the bids was June 1, but it has become clear already that there is no interest in this offer, and at this point no serious company has offered any bids. It has become known that the possibility of extending the deadline is being considered.

It should be pointed out that last year at its own expense, a ship probed the coast of Israel with extensive seismic tests of the bottom of the sea. The ship, which belongs to the British company Horizon, had prepared detailed seismic maps of the area, and the company which had financed the voyage hoped to sell its findings to the big oil companies for a large profit.

The company offers its prospects for sale for a much lower price than it would cost the oil companies to conduct similar studies. The Horizon company had divided the search area at sea into many squares, giving each company the option to purchase the squares it chooses according to seismic findings.

But it turns out that the big oil companies which own sea drilling equipment are afraid of ties with Israel and are not anxious to cooperate in this area.

9565

CSO: 4423/52

GUSH EMUNIM ESTABLISHES GALILEE SETTLEMENT

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 22 Apr 84 p 11

[Article by Menahem Horowitz: "Gush Emunim Settles in the Galilee; Ten Years after Establishing Gush Emunim, First Settlement Is Founded inside Green Line--Mitzpe Netofa North of Golani Road Junction"]

[Text] Over 10 years ago a group of Gush Etzyon members gathered to discuss the new way of Religious Zionism. In time the group was joined by thousands of members, who gave birth to the settlement movement in Judaea and Samaria. In Gush Emunim's Supplement 1 it was stated: "The purpose is to bring about a great awakening movement among the people of Israel in order to fulfill the entire Zionist vision, recognizing that the vision stems from the patrimony of Israel and the roots of Judaism, and its beginning is the full redemption of the people of Israel and the entire nation." The Galilee was not mentioned in this supplement. Most of the early settlers turned, as was mentioned, to Judaea and Samaria, and one still recalls the days of Sebastia, Alon Moreh and Qedumim.

Ten years have gone by, and unlike the settlement in Judaea and Samaria which still makes the headlines in Israel and abroad, the Amana movement of Gush Emunim has now established its first settlement inside the green line. The name is Mitzpe Netofa, situated north of the Golani road junction on the road to Mount Turan. Next to it is an outlook point overlooking Netofa Valley, and around it are forests.

In the meantime the settlement only has seven families, all members of Amana, but they have many ideological supporters in the religious sector in Israel, who consider settling the Galilee and Judaizing it a priority and disagree with Jewish settling of Judaea and Samaria among and near Arab communities.

The Tor, Edre'i, Barkay and Lichtbraun families, then, are the spearhead of the Amana settlers in the Galilee. In a short ceremony, the families and the other settlers of Mitzpe Netofa were given the small prefabs and plots of land nearby from the last two groups of NAHAL belonging to the religious kibbutzim of Yohay and Nehushta. Thus the area was in effect handed over to the new settlers. Tuvya Barkay (36) who lives in Mitzpe

Netofa with his wife, Hana, and their three children knew from the start that the only place he would go is the Galilee. "The Galilee is my love, really a dream," he says. "Yes, I had many opportunities to live in Judaea and Samaria, but I preferred the Galilee." Tuvya is responsible for the ongoing operation of the generator and other technical items in Mitzpe Netofa. Every day he goes through Arab villages in the Lower and Western Galilee to the plant where he works. "What is this, Lebanon?" he exclaims. "Why should I be afraid of traveling through Arab villages? Here is another reason for more and more families to come to Netofa and to other outposts in the Galilee." His 12 year old daughter has begun to make friends with the children of the nearby Kibbutz Lavi, as have the children of the other settlers and the settlers themselves, who receive a great deal of help from the established communities in the area. Some members of the nearby communities have turned to Amana and asked to be admitted to Netofa. But without sufficient budget and support on the part of the interior ministry and the settlement division of the Jewish Agency, this has not been approved. Only now three more families are joining--Schliachtar, Navon and Grin. But according to Brakha Tor, the secretary of the settlement, the lack of funds stops the development of the outpost. Thus, for example, the settlement was promised only 15 additional prefabs, while twice as many were requested by families who wanted to settle in Netofa. "We have no bomb shelters," she adds. "There is no access road and the only phone has been disconnected for a week."

But the ideal is not affected by the disconnection and isolation, or by the technical difficulties. "My order of priorities prevents me from going to settle in Judaea and Samaria," declares Matityahu Schliachter. "There are 1 million Arabs there. We have to integrate with them, not conquer them. I do not accept this ideology, and we provide information to all those who identify with Amana and Gush Etzyon in order to draw settlers to the Galilee." Schliachter had come here with his family from Jerusalem. Tuvya is more reserved in his opposition to settling Judaea and Samaria. He says: "No movement wanted to settle Judaea and Samaria. It was the most important thing at the time and this is why all energy and resources were directed there." Brakha Tor says: "I like it in the Galilee, and besides, I do not agree to a Jewish presence in Judaea and Samaria as it is done now, in the middle of Arab centers of population." Matityahu believes that as more settlers come to Netofa one will be able to discuss industrial and tourist projects to be established in the area."

As for the Arab neighbors, the attitude is positive from the start: The members of the outpost do not speak about hostile Arab population, but how to become closer with the local Arabs and cooperate with them out of mutual respect. Yitzhaq Edray, who has arrived here with his wife, Yehudit, and his two sons from Kiryat Shemona, was appointed security coordinator of the outpost. The news about possible attacks on outposts worries him, but he says that relations with the local Arabs are good.

9565

CSO: 4423/52

BRIEFS

CONTROVERSIAL CHANGE IN TAXATION LAW--The heads of the accounting office and the tax advisors yesterday voiced strong criticism of the decision of the finance committee to approve retroactive legislation regarding the tax law under inflationary conditions. The advisors said that they had cautioned the committee members several times against retroactive legislation, but the latter overlooked the warnings about the import of such legislation and approved amendments to the law. The head of the tax advisors' office, Moshe Libel, said yesterday that a delegation of the office lobbied members of the finance committee before the decision meeting. The members of the delegation met with representatives of the Likud in the Knesset members' committee, Dan Tihon and Ari'el Weinstein, representatives of the Labor, Knesset Members Naftali Blumenthal and 'Adi Amoray, and Deputy Labor and Welfare Minister Ben-Tziyon Rubin. But it turned out that the members of the committee had approved many amendments of the inflation law, which applies retroactively to the 1982 tax year. Libel added that there is no precedent for such legislation in the area of taxation, which strongly affects owners of middle-size businesses, who now have to pay higher taxes. The chairman of the accounting office, Israel Strauss, strongly attacked the retroactive legislation as well. Deputy Finance Minister, Hayim Kaufman, denied this criticism. He explained that the public has known about the expected amendments of the inflation law, which are defined as technical matters, for 1 to 2 years, and they are coming as no surprise. [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 19 Apr 84 p 1] 9565

CSO: 4423/52

SAUDI ARABIA

SAUDI AIRLINES CUTS EXPENDITURES

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 59, Apr 84 p 36

[Article: "Saudi Airlines Cuts Expenditures; Matar: 'There Is No Need for Another Airline'"]

[Text] Saudi Arabian Airlines cut operating expenses by 300 million riyals in 1983, greatly reducing expected losses. Capt Ahmad Mata, director general of Saudi Airlines, announced the preceding during a press conference he held last month at Saudi Airlines' third annual marketing conference in al-Ta'if. The following are highlights of the conference:

Capt Matar said that mechanization of Saudi travel agencies and airline offices is one of the company's goals and that a plan has been drawn up that is difficult to carry out all at once. Mechanization will be done in stages according to the size and role of the offices at home and abroad.

Regarding the opening of King Khalid International Airport, Capt Matar said that the airport is a very large step in the development underway in Saudi Arabia and is one of the largest and best in the world. He said that Riyadh, as the capital of the kingdom, must open up to other airlines to give the traveler freedom of choice. He added that the entry of foreign companies would affect Saudi Airlines' sales, "but we welcome honest, above-board competition. We don't want illegal competition on the part of other companies, such as unscrupulously disregarding internationally recognized prices."

In reply to a question about reducing the number of company employees, Capt Matar said, "Increased productivity is linked to increased production by the individual, not an increase in the number of employees. We intend to reduce the number of employees, especially contractors. We can do without the employees who can be replaced by qualified Saudis, those who are in reserve or those who are low producers. At this time, there are no housing projects for the employees, especially since Saudi Airlines employees have special benefits that employees of other airline companies don't have, such as two months' salary as a housing allowance, at a minimum of 18,000 riyals. Forty-nine percent of the employees of the technical department are Saudis, as are 52 percent of the employees in operations. However, we have 43 offices abroad, where most of the employees are local employees. Total 'Saudization'

won't happen overnight, but must be part of a measured, logical plan. It would be absurd to hire an unqualified person to repair aircraft simply because he is a Saudi. 'Saudization' in technical aspects and operations must be on the basis that the Saudi is better qualified than his foreign counterpart. Saudi Airlines is currently playing an effective role in developing national capabilities in technical, marketing and other fields."

About the need to establish a second national airline company to create competition and improve service, Capt Matar said, "This isn't necessary. The United States has the largest number of domestic and international carriers of any country, and I can say as a passenger that the companies operating in the United States give the worst service I have seen. There are many companies in Europe, but the service isn't good. The number of companies isn't a gauge, although competition is necessary. Saudi Airlines has been serving 23 domestic airports at a high level of efficiency for several years. The question is, 'Is there justification for establishing another company?'"

The director general of Saudi Airlines closed the press conference by talking about complaints, saying, "This was one of the points for discussion at the al-Ta'if conference. We don't want to bury our heads in the sand. We see errors that the passenger may not see which we add to his comments. We try to solve all complaints regarding all services, from reservations to check-in to ground and in-flight services. However, as long as we are covering 23 domestic and 43 foreign stops and operating 300 flights daily, there will be mistakes. This is no disgrace; the disgrace would be to ignore the mistakes."

9882

CSO: 4404/458

SAUDI ARABIA

OVERVIEW OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

Beirut AL-IQTISAD WA AL-A'MAL in Arabic No 59, Apr 84 pp 59-61

[Article by Yasir Hilal: "Agricultural Experiment in Saudi Arabia"]

[Text] Agriculture in Saudi Arabia is an experiment worth noting, not only for its direct results, such as increasing cultivated land and achieving self-sufficiency in several crops, most importantly wheat, but also for its secondary results--basic changes in the nature of private sector economic activity and controversial ramifications, not the least of which concern water and the role and limits of government support.

If this support is the primary impetus for the current economic development, it has clearly been decided that responsibility for continuing and furthering this development rests with the private sector, for which many favorable conditions have been provided.

The following is a brief report on the most noteworthy conditions and developments in the Saudi agricultural sector, which will be the subject of a comprehensive report in our next edition.

The importance of developing agriculture in Saudi Arabia rests on several factors, the most important being that about 50 percent of the inhabitants depend on agriculture as a source of livelihood, and approximately 20 percent of the Bedouin depend on raising livestock and on grazing for their livelihood. Furthermore, agriculture now constitutes a widesphere with a great capacity to absorb investment following the saturation of the commerce and contracting fields. Agriculture is also important in diversifying the country's producing framework and in helping to achieve food security.

Any evaluation of this experiment must begin with the various aspects of the large amount of government support. Land is distributed and handed over free; subsidies are given, whether for the factors of production, with 50 percent of the cost of certain machines and equipment provided, or for the product itself, including grain crops such as corn, barley and rice and date crops. These subsidies are paid by the Ministry of Agriculture in accordance with the requirements of promoting each crop, with the exception of wheat. The entire wheat crop is handed over to the General Organization

for Grain Elevators and Flour Mills at a favorable price of 3.5 riyals per kilogram. In exchange, the Agricultural Bank will provide easy, interest-free loans with terms varying from 1 to 10 to 25 years, up to a value of 20 million riyals. Medium-term loans (10 years) constitute the primary focus of loan activity, since the percentage of short-term loans for fiscal year 1402/03 A.H. was only 0.6 percent of total loans. The bank awarded 38,886 loans at a total value of 4,166 million riyals in 1402/03 A.H., compared to 37,446 loans at a total value of approximately 2,933 million riyals the previous year, an increase of 42 percent.

The Agricultural Bank also gave 1321 million riyals in subsidies, an increase of 35 percent over the previous year. This is in addition to subsidies given by the Ministry of Agriculture and Water. Wheat projects accounted for 392 million riyals of these subsidies, 30 percent of the projects' total loans. Such incentives and facilities have brought agriculture great acceptance, especially where wheat is concerned because of the ease and relative speed with which a large return is realized. This has led a number of businessmen to enter this sphere, both individually and through corporations with large amounts of capital. For this reason, wheat production has jumped from 3,000 tons in 1976 (1 percent of the kingdom's requirements) to 700,000 tons in 1983 (approximately 90 percent of requirements). According to the lowest estimates, production this year is expected to reach 1.3 million tons. No announcement has been made as to how the surplus will be dealt with: whether the government will buy the entire crop and store it as reserves, whether it will be given as assistance to certain developing countries or to the World Food Programme or whether it will be left up to the growers to export the surplus to world markets, selling it at prevailing prices.

Will Agriculture Continue without Support?

The question is, "Can agriculture continue and grow with less government support or without support?"

Support is not expected to increase, not only because production costs are high in the kingdom, but also because government support has become the norm in all countries, even the industrialized countries, and therefore support will probably be lowered gradually for certain crops and rechanneled to other crops to develop production.

The ball is now in the private sector's court. In principle, existing projects will be able to continue and expand if operations are improved. The most important basis for this may be crop diversification--not cultivating wheat alone, which will remain a profitable crop even if government support is dropped to the required levels. The costs of every agricultural project are covered for periods of 1 to 3 years, so actual production costs are limited to operating costs, which are low. Furthermore, replacing machines and equipment is not a problem because of government assistance, which is not expected to undergo any significant changes. In fact, land planted with wheat usually lies idle for six months out of the year, which means that the project is deprived of revenue which may match that from wheat without any additional investment.

Of course, reducing support would cause great difficulties for certain unprofitable projects which are managed poorly, producing no more than 2 tons per hectare while other projects produce as much as 8 tons.

In any event, most companies, particularly the large ones, have begun to realize the risk of total reliance on cultivating wheat and have therefore begun to seek alternatives or secondary crops. It appears that in the near future, fodder crops, corn, barley and vegetables will be the focus of attention, in addition to livestock and dairy projects.

Potato cultivation is expected to expand following its success in the kingdom, with production having reached 1.2 to 1.7 tons per dunum. A scientific cooperation agreement has been signed with the Netherlands to further such cultivation, and numerous incentives have been given to farmers by the government, such as giving up to 5 tons of free seed potatoes, with the amount over that provided at a nominal cost of 1 riyal per kilogram, plus use of the potato program's machines and equipment. Vegetable production has expanded markedly during the last 2 years, with increased use of protective agriculture, whereby the surplus of such vegetables as tomatoes, onions and watermelons is exported during certain seasons to the Gulf countries. Fruits and dates are the subject of an intensive yield-increasing program, with material incentives and suitable varieties provided to growers at nominal prices--800,000 fruit tree seedlings of various types have been distributed.

The cultivation of date palms is comparable to that of wheat, since generous subsidies have been given to growers, leading to an increase in the number of producing trees to approximately 12 million. When no suitable market is found, the government buys the crop at favorable prices, and when production greatly exceeded market requirements, a packaging plant was built and the government gave agricultural products in kind, primarily dates, instead of monetary assistance to the World Food Programme.

Animal Resources

In 1976, livestock production covered only 10 percent of the kingdom's requirements. Production in 1983 covered the total requirement, and means are being sought to market this year's expected surplus in the region.

Last year, 70 to 80 percent of red meat requirements were met, as compared to almost total reliance on imports in past years.

Egg production jumped from 200-300 million per year in 1976 to 2 billion eggs this year. The percentage of requirements met for dairy products went from 1 percent to 100 percent this year, and exportation to the Gulf countries has actually begun.

The raising of livestock continues to interest a growing number of investors, particularly after large corporations turned to it as an important way of diversifying production. The Agricultural Bank gave 263 million riyals in

loans last year to 54 projects to raise chickens for food, which are expected to yield 45 million birds per year, and 143 million riyals to finance 33 projects for egg production, which will provide about 726 million eggs yearly.

Four new dairy projects have been financed, with a production capacity of approximately 16,460 tons of milk, and 233 million riyals has been allotted to finance 67 sheep and cattle raising projects, with a capacity of approximately 828,000 head yearly.

Water Problem

Water is one of the most important, sensitive problems in agricultural development. Even though the most modern irrigation methods are used and new sources of water are continually sought, the rapid expansion of agriculture has brought an incipient problem of quality and volume of reserve ground water, which in most formations is not replenished or the rate of pumping greatly exceeds that at which water is replaced.

The greatest need now in this regard may be to carry out the national water plan, in which great strides have been made.

If some foreign consultants like to exaggerate the problem of the water shortage and the deteriorating quality of water in certain regions, doubting the advantage of developing the agricultural sector and thereby perpetuating dependence on foreign countries for food, we still should not underestimate the gravity of the water problem in the future. The demands of agricultural expansion are governed by limited resources, and there are negative indications in a number of agricultural regions in Saudi Arabia, where the water level has dropped greatly and salinity has increased. This means that action must be taken quickly to find new sources or at least to adopt the most modern methods for the best use of available resources; choices are numerous and varied for the latter. Some of these methods are already being used, such as the drainage project at al-Ihsa', where collected water can be treated and reused instead of being wasted. Clear drainage water is being used for growing vegetables and other products around cities, and agriculture which uses little water, is being expanded. This small amount of water can itself be reused in raising various crops.

Solar Energy and Desalinization

Perhaps the most important choice under discussion for the future is to develop solar energy technology for use on a large scale in the desalinization of sea water, cutting the cost and making the use of desalinized water in agriculture cost efficient.

Marketing and Processing

Marketing is one aspect of agriculture that still lacks, to a relatively large degree, that progress we have seen in the production side. This may be

because no marketing problem existed earlier with basic crops since the state buys them. However, the problem will come sharply to the fore with the trend toward diversifying and increasing production, which will create more competition and encourage concentration on devising the best marketing tactics. The problem may be more difficult for small and medium-sized farms than for the large agricultural companies where marketing production is one of their primary activities. The state may have to intervene at first to find the necessary channels to sell these farmers' yields under appropriate conditions, especially where vegetables are concerned, since the problem of wheat, dates and dairy products is already partially solved.

The other aspect is that of processing, whether canning, converting or preserving, or the processing of crops intended primarily for that purpose. The latter are ignored in practice, even though they have been proven profitable, and include such crops as sugar beets, sesame and others. These industries are a decisive factor in achieving a leap forward in the current development.

9882

CSO: 4404/458

INDO-SOVIET DEAL ON MODERN WEAPONS FINALIZED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 May 84 p 10

[Text]

A high-level Indian delegation led by Defence Secretary S M Ghosh returned New Delhi on Monday from Moscow after finalising new deals for the supply of modern weapons and Defence equipment, reports UNI.

During its week-long stay in the Soviet Union, the delegation discussed with Soviet officials the delivery schedules for a new generation of military hardware for the Army, Navy and the Air Force.

The defence team had gone to Moscow to take follow-up action on the agreements reached during Soviet Defence Minister Marshal Dmitri Ustinov's visit to New Delhi in March.

The Soviet Defence Minister had agreed to provide military equipment "with a greater sense of urgency."

Mr Ghosh was accompanied by Vice-Admiral S. Mukherjee, Vice-Chief of the Naval Staff, P V Desai, joint secretary (AIR), the joint secretary (Navy), the financial adviser—all in the Defence Ministry—and some other technical experts.

The Soviet side is understood to have outlined the time-frame for the supply of futuristic fighter planes, maritime reconnaissance and tactical low level surface-to-air, air-to-air and air-to-ground missiles, latest electronic counter measures, modern warships and modern weaponry for the Indian Army.

According to the agreements concluded, the Soviet Union would supply to the Indian Army not only "higher supplies" of equipment but also more sophisticated hardware with higher strike power.

The Indian delegation had separate meetings with Soviet Air Force chief marshal, Soviet

naval chief, Admiral S.G. Gorshkov and top ranking officials of the army and the defence department.

The team also discussed the question of supply of a suitable air defence system "in the light of current and future security perceptions in the region".

The Soviet side is understood to have expressed its readiness to supply off the shelf advance technology aircraft like the Mig-29 with a shoot-up and shoot-down capability. This fighter aircraft is stated to be far superior to the American F-16 Falcon fighter supplied to Pakistan. The Soviet side appreciated "the Indian sense of urgency for the acquisition of requisite ECM systems."

For the Navy, besides the supply of new warships, the Soviet side agreed to fit the Indian naval ships, which are under construction with latest sensing systems to increase their capabilities of surveillance, detection and sight. They also agreed to give India "electronic capabilities to contain the developing threats in the Indian Ocean".

The Soviet Union has offered the latest TU 142 M maritime reconnaissance and anti-ship aircraft which is a variant of TU-95 bear aircraft.

The Soviet side agreed to speed up the supplies of the AN-32 tactical transport aircraft for the air force and also to give in the near future the giant IL-76 transport aircraft.

The Soviet military experts appreciated the Indian desire for indigenising production of all equipments and evaluation systems as early as possible to enable it "progressively reduce contingent dependence and offered to help the process of indigenisation to the maximum extent possible."

PRC CLAIM STALLS BORDER DEMARCATION WITH BURMA

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 18 Apr 84 p 6

[Text]

Calcutta, April 17 (UNI) — Demarcation of about 125 kms of India's border with northern Burma at Diphu in Arunachal Pradesh has been held up because of China's claim to the area.

India's Ambassador to Burma G G Swell said here today that the Burmese Government had preferred to keep the demarcation of Diphu border pending, till India and China settled claims.

He said while India's position about the border was clear, China had claimed that its territory extended further south up to the Indian border at Diphu.

Mr Swell who was on his way to Rangoon said the demarcation of India's long border with Burma from the north right up to the trijunction at Mizoram in the south had been completed except that at Diphu and a small strip of about 30 kms at Khabaw at Manipur.

There was no problem between India and Burma about demarcating the border at Khabaw, Mr Swell said.

India and Burma, he said, had been good neighbours. The agreement on the demarcation of the entire maritime border reached last month was a measure of goodwill and cooperation between the two countries, he said.

Burmese Foreign Minister U Chit Hlaing would be arriving in Delhi on 7 May on a three-day visit, he said.

More BSF for Indo-Bangla border

India has inducted two additional battalions of the Border Security Force on the Indo-Bangladesh border in West Bengal according to Mr W G J Mudaliar, Inspector-General of the BSF in the state.

With this increase the area of responsibility of the existing force has been reduced, the task of each battalion being limited to approximately 170 kms of border.

Mr Mudaliar said that cases of arrest of smugglers and detection of illegal entrants had risen and, cut the number of border crimes had dropped.

CSO: 4600/1797

ANALYST ON SIGNIFICANCE OF SINO-BHUTAN BORDER TALKS

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Apr 84 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 27.

The first round of border talks between Bhutan and China in Beijing last week was by and large confined to an exchange of views on the general principles that should be applied for settling this problem, and the two sides agreed to begin substantive discussions at the next round in Thimpu later this year, according to information available here.

The Chinese, who laid claims in their earlier maps to a large segment of eastern Bhutan adjoining Arunachal Pradesh on the Indian side of McMahon line, had subsequently given up these demands in the sense that they were not renewed in the later maps published after 1965, although Beijing continued to maintain that a part of Western Bhutan adjacent to the Chumbi Valley belonged to Tibet.

The Indian stand has been that the traditional boundary between Bhutan and Tibet followed the crest of the Himalayan range and that the Chinese claims to any territory on the southern side of the watershed were totally untenable.

The Chinese, however, continued to insist that boundary was undemarcated and that, apart from parts of the Ha Valley which were conceded at one time as dowry to a Tibetan nobleman who married a Bhutanese princess, the Tibetans exercised grazing rights across the Himalayas in northern Bhutan.

The Tibetan graziers, escorted by Chinese soldiers, have been sent regularly with their herds across the Himalayan ranges every summer, but withdrawn before the winter snows blocked the passes in the border region. This year the Chinese started clearing up some forest areas and putting up wooden huts, giving the impression that they intended to stay through the winter to assert their claims in view of the impending border talks, but they pulled out a little later after prolonging

their stay by a few more weeks this time.

The earlier stand taken by India was that, since it had a special treaty relationship with Bhutan, the Chinese should negotiate a settlement of the Bhutan border, along with the rest of the Sino-Indian boundary, with the Indian Government and not directly with Bhutan. But lately India has resiled from this position and agreed to let Bhutan negotiate directly with China in view of the changed circumstances.

It was against this background that a delegation headed by the Bhutanese Ambassador to India, Mr. Om Pradhan, was sent by Bhutan to Beijing to begin the border discussions. The Chinese delegation was led by the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Gong Dafei, who conducted the last round of Sino-Indian talks in Delhi.

The main Chinese claim is to the Ha Valley, an area of about 500 sq. km which is of considerable strategic importance since it lies roughly midway between the Chumbi Valley of Tibet protruding towards India like a wedge from the eastern side of Sikkim and the Thimpu valley, the capital of Bhutan.

It remains to be seen how the Bhutanese Government with its limited experience is going to conduct these crucial discussions, whether it has the necessary expertise to be able to deal confidently with highly skilled negotiators like Mr. Gong Dafei on the Chinese side.

The political significance of this Sino-Bhutanese dialogue is far more important from the Chinese point of view than a border settlement, since it has already opened the way for establishment of direct contacts between them. For the first time in more than a century, an official Chinese delegation will be visiting Bhutan for the next round of these border talks in Thimpu and, step by step, it will lead to the consolidation of these contacts culminating at some point in the establishment of direct diplomatic relations.

KERALA GOVERNMENT EVICTING FRESH ENCROACHERS

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Apr 84 p 1

[Text]

TRIVANDRUM, April 26.

The Kerala Government has started evicting fresh encroachers from the forest areas in the High Ranges. In the first operation on Wednesday, over 60 families were evicted from Thattekkannu in Idukki district.

The Government decision to go ahead with evictions, ignoring its potential for political trouble, followed large-scale encroachments soon after the Government's assurance in the State Assembly that all the pre-1977 settlers would be granted ownership deeds.

The announcement was the signal for a massive influx into the forest areas. Reports reaching the State Headquarters spoke of organised gangs cutting down trees and setting fire to large areas in the interior of the forests. Coconut trees and other species were being transplanted in the cleared areas to make it appear that the "household" was "quite old". Timber from old houses from the villages was used in constructing the new houses.

Central forces deployed: The Government has sent the Central police units such as the CRPF and the BSF to the area. Official sources said that the eviction would have started much earlier but for the strike at Cochin Port and in the State Electricity Board and these forces had to be deployed.

There are political and religious forces behind the encroachments and these forces had assumed that with three by-elections round the corner the Government would not risk taking any strong action that can alienate the settlers.

No difference of opinion: An official spokesman said that on the question of evicting the post-1977 settlers, there was no difference

of opinion in any quarter. The joint inspection by the Forest and Revenue Department officials to identify the pre-1977 settlers was going on in several areas through its pace was rather slow because of the conflicting claims and evidence.

New encroachments: He said that there was no question of condoning fresh encroachments, even if the new settlers were living on the fringes of the old settlements. According to the Forest department sources, a new *modus operandi* was for the fresh encroachers to buy a piece of land from the old settlers and then gradually expand the area under their possession. "This would not be permitted", the spokesman said.

CSO: 4600/1836

RAO MEETS EEC FOREIGN MINISTERS IN PARIS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] PARIS, April 13 (PTI)--INDIA and the European Economic Community opened their first political dialogue at the ministerial level here today with wideranging talks on international issues.

The external affairs minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, headed the Indian delegation at the talks, while the French minister for foreign affairs, Mr. Calude Cheysson, led the EEC team, as France is the current chairman of the European Community.

Mr. Eric Gonsalves, India's ambassador to the EEC, and Mr. Narendra Singh, Indian ambassador to France, assisted Mr. Rao.

Mr. Rao had a 40-minute meeting with the French President, Mr. Francois Mitterrand, shortly after his arrival here last evening from Lisbon. He will have talks on bilateral issues with Mr. Cheysson before returning to New Delhi tomorrow.

During Mr. Rao's meeting with the French President, there was a general review of bilateral relations with both of them noting with satisfaction that Indo-French ties had grown and strengthened in recent years.

Mr. Mitterrand is understood to have told Mr. Rao that he was happy that relations between India and France were very close and he appreciated the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi's contribution to that.

Mr. Rao underlined the importance India had given to its relations with France and pointed out that India was holding one of its biggest ever cultural festivals abroad in France next year.

He thanked the French leader for his role in furthering Indo-French ties.

Crucial Role

The deadlock in the North-South dialogue was also discussed during Mr. Rao's meeting with the French President, who has been strongly pleading the case of developing countries in various international forums.

Mr. Rao is believed to have stressed that France and other European countries could play a crucial role in bringing about an understanding between industrialised and developing countries.

Mr. Mitterrand recalled the efforts being made by France in this regard and assured him that it would continue to do so.

Mr. Rao mentioned the satisfactory outcome of the just-concluded conference in Lisbon on Europe's role in North-South issues and hoped that European governments would implement the decisions taken there.

CSO: 4600/1792

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTER CONCLUDES VISIT TO FRANCE

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Apr 84 p 9

[Text] PARIS, April 14 (PTI)--INDIA and France have expressed grave concern over the prospect of militarisation of space and proliferation of chemical weapons which would pose added dangers to humanity.

The external affairs minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, and the French foreign affairs minister, Mr. Claude Cheysson, were of the view that the international community should ensure there was no resort to chemical weapons in any conflict.

Mr. Rao, who concluded his two-day official visit to France today, expressed satisfaction at this talks with Mr. Cheysson which marked the opening of the first ministerial-level dialogue between India and the European community on political issues. They also discussed bilateral subjects during their extensive talks spread over two sessions and continued informally at a lunch hosted by the French minister and Mr. Rao's dinner for him last night.

Similar Views

Speaking at the dinner, Mr. Rao noted that India and France, to a very large extent, held similar views on world issues. "Even on occasions when we may differ there exists a goodwill to fully comprehend each others' point of view," he said.

Mr. Rao is understood to have referred to the situation in South Asia and India's efforts to promote good relations with its neighbours including Pakistan. Mr. Cheysson, who is the president of the council of ministers of EEC, explained Europe's view of international issues.

The two sides exchanged views on the situation in West Asia, Central America, South-East Asia and on global economic issues, notably the deadlock in the North-South dialogue.

Mr. Rao said India was proud to be pioneer in developing its relations with the EEC which had come to occupy a central position among world economic entities. He described his talks with Mr. Cheysson as "another landmark in our developing co-operation and dialogue."

Atomic Agency

Mr. Rao is believed to have made a passing reference to attempts to indirectly downgrade India's position on the board of governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency following China's entry. While India welcomed China's entry, its own position on the board of governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency following China's entry. While India welcomed China's entry, its own position should not be eroded, he emphasised.

In his dinner speech, Mr. Rao praised France's positive stance in support of developing countries on North-South issues and said that France was an interlocutor in the dialogue between rich and developing countries.

In his reply, Mr. Cheysson warmly praised India's independent policies and its leadership of the non-aligned movement. He said he was extremely happy at the growing co-operation and understanding between the two countries.

Besides calling on President Mitterrand, Mr. Rao had discussions with the French minister for European affairs, Mr. Ronald Dumas.

CSO: 4600/1793

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE SCORES GOVERNMENT

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 14 Apr 84 p 1

[Text] NEW DELHI, April 13--LEADERS of the National Democratic Alliance, headed by Mr. Charan Singh (Lok Dal) and Mr. A. B. Vajpayee (BJP), today marched in a procession to Rahtrapati Bhavan and presented to the President a "charge-sheet" against the Indira Gandhi government calling for its dismissal.

The demonstration had the appearance of the alliance launching its election campaign. It will be followed up by a week-long programme of courting arrest over the Punjab issue beginning on May 3.

The charge-sheet sought to censure the government on five counts, but precedence was given to the government's alleged failure to control the Punjab situation.

Focussing on the "tragic reality of 1984" that the country was breaking apart, the charge-sheet said: "Punjab today has become a symbol not only of the complete breakdown of law and order but also of the total paralysis that grips the government in dealing with threats to national integrity."

Joint Demonstration

It is evident that Punjab will be the central issue in the NDA's electoral campaign, exposing the government's "ineptitude" in handling the situation in the hope of not only getting the maximum support of the electorate in the northern belt but also weaning away elements in the ruling party who feel their electoral prospects threatened by the developments in the border state.

The processionists were received by President Zail Singh. They were with him for about 30 minutes. They included the BJP vice-president, Mrs. Vijaya Raje Scindia, the general secretary, Mr. L. K. Advani, member of parliament, Mr. Satish Chandra Agarwal, and the former Rajasthan chief minister, Mr. Bhairon Singh Shekhawat. The Lok Dal leaders were Mr. Maniram Bagri and Mr. Ram Naresh Yadav.

Today's joint demonstration is an indication that the Lok Dal and the BJP will maintain the alliance for the election and any effort to bring about opposition unity to meet the ruling party at the hustings must take cognizance of this fact.

The NDA "charge-sheet" provoked a group of Congress M.P.s to immediately come out with a rejoinder. Ten M.P.s, in a statement, said the plan of the NDA leaders to court arrest on the Punjab issue was "bound to add to the growing tensions in the country and inflame communal passions in Punjab."

They said, instead of resorting to such tactics, the NDA leaders should have used their influence with their former ally, the Akali Dal, to delink itself from the extremists who were receiving foreign patronage.

The charge-sheet said that for over two years now Punjab had been in flames. More than 200 people, including eminent journalists such as Lala Jagat Narain and Sumeer Singh, religious leaders like Baba Gurbachan Singh, police officials like Mr. A. S. Atwal, political leaders like Mr. Harbans Lal Khanna and scholars like Dr. V. N. Tiwari, had been murdered in cold blood. Still not a single assassin had been brought to book, it added.

Trade, commerce and industry had been crippled. The common citizen of Punjab felt totally insecure and lost. Judging from government pronouncements, the end of the tunnel is nowhere in sight.

The other points made in the charge-sheet were that the Assam policy of the government was "immoral". It was inspired by one "sordid" consideration of retaining the minority vote bank. During the last four years, the country had witnessed more cases of Harijan-baiting, bride-burning and rape than at any time in recorded history.

It observed, "the Rajiv Gandhi phenomenon is an unseemly manifestation of a perverted belief in the superiority of certain families, and of the notion that a person's merit has something to do with the blood that flows in his veins. This is a dangerous doctrine which all democrats must unequivocally reject and denounce."

The charge-sheet alleged that the government had brought the country to the brink of economic bankruptcy and that this fact was being sedulously concealed from the nation by organising the high-cost extravaganzas, glittering carnivals, international jamborees and "other CHOGM, NAM and Asiad."

The NDA charge-sheet said the government's failure on the price front was the most glaring. Comparing the prices front was the most glaring. Comparing the prices prevailing in 1980 and in 1984, it pointed out that wheat prices had gone up from Rs. 1.20 to Rs. 3.25, rice prices from Rs. 2 to Rs. 8, sugar prices from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5.50 and cloth prices from Rs. 1.28 to Rs. 5.16.

It pointed out that an estimated 50 million people were unemployed at present. The country's external debts were rising at a galloping rate crossing the Rs. 22,000-crore mark.

'Govt. That Works'

It further alleged that under this government, corruption had assumed colossal and wild proportions. The Congress had been returned to power on the

slogan that it would give to the country "a government that works." However, the people had a government today that "works havoc."

Alleging that "in parts of the country like Punjab there is just no government", the charge-sheet said: "We have come here to voice the angry reaction of a disillusioned people--'this government must go'".

The Congress M.P.s, in their statement, also took on the Janata party leaders, Mr. Biju Patnaik and Mr. George Fernandes, for holding talks with the Pakistani President, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, and others without taking the Indian ambassador with them. They said, according to their information, the two leaders had also conferred with the U.S. ambassador in India before their visit Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/1792

JANATA LEADER NOTES DESTABILIZATION OF UNITED FRONT

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 15 Apr 84 pp 1, 7

[Text] MR Subramanian Swamy, M.P., and Janata Party leader, said in Calcutta on Saturday that the Janata-led four-party United Front had been destabilized by disunity and cross-voting during the recent Rajya Sabha elections and developments within Janata and other constituents of the Front. Janata, Congress (S), DSP and the Janvadi Party constitute the U.F.

He said in an interview that relations between the Front constituents were so confusing that it was difficult to understand which party was with whom. The DSP leader, Mr Bahuguna's overture to Mr Charan Singh for a merger with the Lok Dal had added to the confusion. It was unlikely that the proposal to convert the U.F. into a single party--Janata Congress--adopted at the Calcutta conclave of the Opposition would materialize.

He said disunity within the United Front had surfaced during the recent Rajya Sabha elections. Not only did the constituents of the Front fail to put up a common candidate, but they also voted for candidates of parties outside the Front.

In Rajasthan, Mr Rajbahadur of the Congress(S) was a candidate for the Rajya Sabha election, though Janata had its own candidate. In fact, the Janata candidate did not get all the votes of his party. In U.P., 12 MLAs belonging to the DSP, Congress(S) and the Janvadi Party voted for the Lok Dal candidate instead of the Janata candidate, Mr Raj Narain.

In Bihar, five Congress(S) MLAs voted for the BJP candidates for the Rajya Sabha in exchange for the BJP votes for the Congress(S) in the State Legislative Council.

One of the factors responsible for the defeat of Syed Shahbuddin, the Janata candidate for the Rajya Sabha from Bihar, was that three Janata MLAs did not vote for him. "For all practical purposes the Front is dead", Mr Swamy remarked.

He said the foreign policy adopted at the plenary session of the Janata Party in Patna last month had "shocked" both the DSP and Janvadi leaders who were well-known for their pro-Moscow inclinations. The party's policy announcement

calling for immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Soviet and Vietnamese troops from Afghanistan and Kampuchea was contrary to what two parties were advocating. Janata's strong support for the Solidarity in Poland in defending its right to elect its own leader had also been disliked by the two parties. "This is complete negation of the line propounded by some partners of the Front", he said.

The DSP, Janvadi and the Congress(S) leaders, besides many in Janata, had also been shocked by Mr George Fernandes and Mr Biju Patnaik's recent visit to Pakistan and their subsequent remarks, Mr Swamy said. What had surprised them was that they had gone as personal emissaries of Mr Chandra Shekhar. "I do not agree with them that Pakistan will not attack us", Mr Swamy remarked. He said many were surprised that the two leaders had insisted that the Indian Ambassador should not be present during their talks with President Zia-ul-Haq. This had given rise to speculation.

Mr Swamy said that developments in the U.F. and in Janata had left the party in a state of disarray. Despite the party giving a mandate to Mr Chandra Shekhar for nominating a national executive more than a month ago, the party president had not been able to do anything in this regard. Many of the State party units as in Bihar, West Bengal, Rajasthan were vertically split Mr Chandra Shekhar had not been able to reunite them.

CSO: 4600/1794

CONGRESS-I UNIT SUPPORTS SAHARAN ARAB REPUBLIC

Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Apr 84 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 15.

The Foreign Affairs Department of the All-India Congress Committee (AICC) has expressed its support to the "long struggle waged by the Saharawi people for independence and for a sovereign homeland" — a step widely interpreted here as a move towards official recognition of the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR).

The expression of support was contained in an AICC (I) press release issued at the conclusion of a three-day visit here by a delegation representing the Polisario Front, the guerrilla organisation, fighting for the independence of Western Sahara. The visit was in response to an invitation extended by an AICC (I) delegation during an unpublicised visit to Western Sahara four years ago.

Support for U.N. resolution: The AICC (I) statement also reiterated its support for the U.N. General Assembly resolution, calling for the recognition of the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara and the 19th OAU summit resolution, calling for a ceasefire and direct negotiations between the parties in the conflict. According to a spokesman of the Polisario Front, Morocco which is "illegally occupying" Western Sahara, has so far refused to honour either resolution.

Speaking to reporters here, the leader of the four-member Polisario delegation and Politburo member, Mr. Mohamed Salem Ould Salek, described the visit as "very positive". He

made special mention of the "fruitful exchanges" with the Congress (I) party's General Secretaries, including Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, MP. They also made "valuable contacts" with the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. Balram Jakhar, and Foreign Ministry officials, he said.

Asked whether the question of opening a Polisario Front office in India was discussed, Mr. Salek said, "The dialogue is continuing". An AICC (I) delegation is expected to visit Western Sahara in the near future, when the matter will be discussed further. The Polisario Front maintains offices in countries like France and Yugoslavia, which have yet to give de jure recognition to the Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic. About 55 countries including a majority of African nations have formal diplomatic relations with SADR.

Armed struggle: Western Sahara in North-West Africa, came under Spanish rule in 1884. The freedom movement, which became an armed struggle against Spanish colonialism in 1973, has been led by the Polisario Front. After the Spanish withdrew in 1976, the 260,000 sq. km. territory was claimed and occupied by Morocco in the north and Mauritania in the south. The Polisario guerrillas succeeded in bringing Mauritania to the negotiating table and signed a peace treaty, ceding Mauritania's claim to the territory. Although the Front now controls more than 80 per cent of Western Sahara, the phosphate-rich area, which includes the capital, El Eunn and the towns of Bou Craa and Smara are under the military occupation of Morocco.

CSO: 4600/1796

CONCERN OVER 'ILLEGAL ACTIVITIES OF FOREIGNERS' NOTED

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 15 Apr 84 p 3

[Text] THE illegal activities of some foreigners visiting the Eastern region of the country are causing concern to the authorities. Recently, two West German nationals were arrested in Calcutta for the alleged illegal possession of two high-frequency transmission sets. In another case, a French national was arrested for entering India, allegedly with forged documents.

The Central and West Bengal Governments are worried over reports of some foreigners sneaking into the country with forged documents and of tourists engaged in shady activities. This apart, the continuous flow of illegal immigrants from such neighbouring countries as Bangladesh and Nepal is a constant headache for the Government.

Since West Bengal has borders with a few countries, some foreigners visiting this part of the country may be associated with smuggling and even espionage, sources suspect. Sometimes they join social welfare and religious organizations to escape police detection.

Forged Passports

There are also some organized gangs operating in and around the city which are suspected to have a hand in illegal infiltration. According to the sources, they also play an important part in providing false or valid passports to those desiring to settle abroad. Though a few such cases have been detected, such practices continue, these sources say.

One such case detected by the Security Control Department and later investigated by the Detective Department of Calcutta Police was that of a gang led by a Sri Lankan national. Its headquarters was in Delhi but it had a branch in Calcutta. The group was traced after an Afghan couple was found with forged passports and visas for the USA. The ring leader and his chief associates are absconding.

Many Afghan nationals who have been entering India for "political reasons" want to go to other countries, particularly the USA.

According to the sources, some of them often try to get passports and visas through the clandestine agencies, since these are hard to obtain in Afghanistan. Of late, the Centre has adopted a strict attitude towards extending their stay in India.

Another such organization detected in the Park Street area was found responsible for providing false passports to Indian and Bangladesh nationals. Lured by job prospects in West Asia, many Indian and Bangladesh nationals have been cheated by them.

Quit Notices

It is stated that some foreigners enter the country as tourists and later associate themselves with social welfare and religious organizations. A strict vigil is kept on them and they are then served with "quit notices" by the authorities. But the sources say that some of them after receiving such notices move the court on different grounds to delay their departure.

In a recent case, a U.S. citizen, associated with a social welfare organization in Calcutta, married an Indian and then moved the court for citizenship after being served with a quit notice. The court rejected the claim for citizenship but urged the Government to reconsider the prayer for an extension of the visa. The entire process had prolonged the stay of the foreigner.

The Government also views with suspicion some homes run by the foreigners. It is considering a proposal to have a Government representative on the management body of such organizations.

The sources feel that while attention is being paid to the alleged illegal flow of Bangladesh nationals to the State, little has so far been done either to focus or to check the entry of the Nepalis into north Bengal, particularly into Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts. They are forcibly occupying land and setting up shanties. The district administration has so far evaded the problem fearing communal trouble, it is thought.

CSO: 4600/1794

HIMACHAL PRADESH CABINET EXPANDED, RESHUFFLED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 15 Apr 84 p 9

[Text] SIMLA, April 14 (PTI)--The one-year-old Himachal ministry was expanded today with the induction of 12 more ministers, and reshuffle of portfolios of the council of ministers.

The state governor, Mr. Hokise Sema, administered the oath of office and secrecy to the new incumbents, who included on cabinet rank, nine state and two deputy ministers.

The chief minister, Mr. Virbhadra Singh, who returned here last night from Delhi, told newsmen that while formulating the three-tier ministry and making the expansion, all sections, including women and Harijans were taken into account.

He said there was no likelihood of any further expansion of the ministry in the near future.

The new council of ministers now consists of eight cabinet ministers, nine state and two deputy ministers.

Portfolio Surrender

The expansion led Mr. Sat Mahajan to surrender the portfolio of transport to Mr. Shiv Kumar, tourism to Mrs. Chandresh Kumari and food and supplies to Mr. Gulab Singh.

Mr. Mahajan is now left with industries, labour, employment and training and printing and stationery.

Four ministers--Mr. Devi Singh of cabinet rank, Mr. Mansa Ram and Mr. Dharmasingh (both ministers of state) and Mr. Ganu Ram (deputy minister) represent the weaker sections of society.

While Mr. Devi Singh is from the Lahaul-Spiti constituency, reserved for scheduled tribes, the other three are from scheduled caste constituencies.

Mrs. Vidya Stokes and Mrs. Chandresh Kumari (both ministers of state) represent the fair sex.

COMMERCE MINISTER SPEAKS AT PARIS ESCAP MEETING

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Apr 84 p 7

[Text]

Tokyo, April 19 (PTI) — Commerce Minister V P Singh yesterday told the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and Pacific (ESCAP) that the rich half of the world could not afford to remain self-concerned while the poor half continued in "abject poverty".

In his opening address to the ESCAP General Assembly here the Indian Minister said it needed to be realised that economic growth in the developing world could "significantly contribute to world economic recovery" as the developing countries had vast potential markets that could effectively help the growth of the global economy.

Mr Singh said there were some signs of recovery in the world economy, but there was "no convincing evidence so far that this upturn would be sustained and transformed into a durable recovery". He pointed out that the developing countries were the worst hit by the economic crises and their position continued to worsen with the process of development in many cases virtually coming to a halt. Developing countries were today staggering under the burden of their total debt of 810 billion dollars.

Mr V P Singh said while short term measures to manage this debt were "palliative", the basic problem of oil-importing developing countries remained.

Fundamental issue like deteriorating terms of trade, shrinking concessional capital flows, increasing protectionism in industrialised countries, and the mounting debt servicing burden "have not been addressed in a meaningful manner", he said.

Protectionism in the advanced countries, he complained, is on the increase and spreading from textiles to other areas. Quoting the GATT annual report Mr Singh said 30 to 40 per cent of exports from oil importing developing countries were under some kind of restriction.

Referring to "technology for development, "the theme of the ESCAP's Tokyo session, Mr V P Singh said even in those developing countries which "have made some significant stress" in technology, the benefits are yet to percolate

down uniformly to all sectors of economy and all sections of the people.

The responsibility for technological transformation of the economies of developing countries rested primarily with them and they must formulate plans and policies, create necessary infrastructure, and mobilise their human resources, he said.

Yet, the Commerce Minister said, contributions from developed countries to this process would be crucial since overwhelming proportion of research and development effort was concentrated in the industrialised world.

The Minister, who is leading the Indian delegation to the session, stressed the importance of indigenous technology as an essential prerequisite for technological self-reliance.

He said there was great scope for technological cooperation among developing countries in the ESCAP region. India, he added, had some experience in a number of spheres of development which it would be happy to share with others, and "we are sure we also have more to learn through mutual cooperation".

Mr V P Singh mentioned establishment of the centre for technology transfer (RCTT) to which "India has provided host facilities". He said the Centre, unfortunately, was facing financial difficulties and reiterated India's commitment of support to it. He called for adequate institutional support so that the centre could attain its objectives.

On the energy issue, the Indian Minister said it was a highly capital intensive sector and, therefore, "all efforts needed to be made to increase capital flows to the developing countries".

Mr V P Singh said in the ESCAP region with its "rich diversity of experience and achievement", and each country facing its own problems and challenges, the scope for technological cooperation and mutual assistance was unlimited.

"The ESCAP has provided an effective forum" and also a "vehicle for augmenting our mutual assistance and cooperation.

PRESS REPORTS ON VISIT OF AMIR OF QATAR

Agreements Signed

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 20 Apr 84 p 9

[Text] NEW DELHI, April 19 (PTI)--INDIA and Qatar today identified several areas covering petrochemicals, tourism, industrial ventures and fertilisers that offered vast scope for cooperation between the two countries.

At official talks held between delegations of the two countries, the Indian side also spoke of special facilities offered by this country since 1980 to attract investment of petro-dollars in certain areas.

The two countries later signed a five-year economic and technical co-operation agreement providing the framework for joint undertaking of projects and collaboration between their institutions and enterprises for carrying out pre-investment surveys in engineering, medical, agricultural, industrial and transport and communication fields.

The external affairs minister, Mr. Narasimha Rao, referred to yesterday's meeting between the Amir of Qatar, Shaikh Khalifa bin Hamad al-Thani, and the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. He said as the political direction having already been given by the two leaders, the delegations could usefully concentrate attention on concrete issues.

India and Qatar agreed on joint undertakings of projects of technical and economic nature under a five-year economic and technical cooperation agreement signed here today.

The agreement also provides for collaboration between organisations, institutions and enterprises, concerned for jointly carrying out pre-investment surveys in engineering, medical, health, agriculture, tourism, industrial, energy, petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, transport and communication sectors.

The agreement was signed by the external affairs minister, and the Qatar minister for finance and petroleum, Sheikh Abdul Aziz bin Khalifa al-Thani.

It also envisages organisation of training programmes for administrative, technical and professional personnel and exchange of experts and consultants.

Gulf War Committee Proposed

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 20 Apr 84 p 1

[Excerpt]

Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has agreed to consider a Qatari proposal to set up a non-aligned committee on the Gulf war, Qatari Information Minister Issa Ghanem Al-Kawari announced in New Delhi on Thursday, reports UNI.

Addressing a press conference, Mr Al-Kawari said the suggestion was mooted yesterday at talks between visiting Qatari Amir Shiekh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al-Thani and Mrs Gandhi.

He said Mrs Gandhi had clarified that the non-aligned committee set up during the Delhi NAM summit in March last year was exclusively for the Palestinian cause.

Mr Al-Kawari said Mrs Gandhi was determined to pursue the Amir's proposal but "you should appreciate it if she says a solution is not easy."

He said, Qatar, current chairman of the six-nation Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), was independently making a "plethora of efforts" to end the 43-month-old Gulf conflict. Iraq had been responding positively and Iran itself was not averse to talking to Qatar on the issue.

But he admitted that there were not specific proposals at the moment to end the war and the non-aligned committee would help in this context because "it would be an additional outlet, another forum to mediate."

Mr Al-Kawari described Mrs Gandhi's reaction to the Amir's proposal as "very receptive". The Prime Minister had said she would "study and consult" with other movement members on the proposal.

CSO: 4600/1798

CPI-M LEADER COMMENTS ON PUNJAB, GOVERNMENT POWERS

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Apr 84 p 9

[Text]

TRIVANDRUM, April 27.

The General Secretary of the CPI(M), Mr. E. M. S. Nambuthiripad, today said, the Punjab issue would not yield to a solution if it were treated merely as a law and order problem. "It is essentially a political issue and should be treated as such".

At a press conference here, he recalled that the Opposition parties submitted to the Government on June 30 a formula for solving the problem. "Had the Prime Minister accepted and acted upon those proposals there would have been no problem in Punjab today", he said.

Mr. Nambuthiripad pointed out that the Government had accepted the religious demands of the Akalis and by appointing the Sarkaria Commission, responded to the question on Centre-State relations.

The two issues outstanding were the sharing of river waters and the boundary separating Punjab from Haryana. To solve the first, the Parliament had already laid down the procedure to handle such issues, which was to appoint a three-judge panel to look into the question.

As to the second issue, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, herself had awarded Chandigarh to Punjab. The dispute over boundary, since it involved two State Governments, could have been sorted out in discussions with the two States.

Instead of adopting such a constructive approach, the Prime Minister was harping on the violence in Punjab "which goes on unabated". The Darbara Singh Government was asked to quit on the ground that it had failed to curb the violence. "Has the situation

improved under President's rule?" Mr. Nambuthiripad asked. "On the contrary, the situation was deteriorating. If the Prime Minister wants, she can solve this problem within 24 hours", the Marxist leader asserted.

"If that is so, why is the Prime Minister refusing to do it", a correspondent asked.

"You may arrive at your own conclusions", he replied.

No Absolute Supremacy: "It is neither correct nor healthy, even in bourgeois democracy, for the legislature, or the judiciary or the executive to claim absolute supremacy", Mr. Nambuthiripad, said.

He said he did not agree with the view expressed by the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr. Balram Jhakar, that the legislature was supreme and that it should be beyond the reach of the courts.

Each—the judiciary, legislature and the executive—had its own limits and there had been occasions when all the three wings had crossed these limits, he said.

Mr. Nambuthiripad also did not subscribe to the view that the laws regarding contempt of court and privileges of legislators were "absolutely sacrosanct". At the same time, the executive thinks that it can act in any way it wants. These misconceptions have to go.

Mr. Nambuthiripad observed that a court had convicted him once for contempt. "I am not, for that reason, going to say that the powers of the court should be curbed", he remarked.

Mr. Nambuthiripad said there was no doubt in his mind that the courts should be held in high esteem.—Our Special Correspondent.

CSO: 4600/1839

GOVERNMENT CONCERNED OVER ADVERSE PUBLICITY ABROAD

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Apr 84 p 2

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

THE Government is naturally concerned about the adverse publicity that India is receiving abroad these days, partly due to the internal turmoils which are providing some degree of credibility to the widespread misconceptions that it is a divided country, an uneasy conglomeration of discordant communities and castes, with no hard core to it. The tragic events in Assam last year did a lot of harm to India's reputation as a civilised and sensitive society that cherished human values, but the present macabre events in Punjab are tarnishing the country's image in the eyes of even well-meaning foreign observers.

The old notion that it is a country of appalling poverty and phenomenal wealth, a land of feckless maharajas and naked fakirs, inexcusable ostentation and utter privation, has lately yielded place to the more damaging impression that India is an arrogant and intolerant power, a difficult neighbour and a big bully bent on imposing its hegemony on other peoples in the region.

Wrong assumption

The controversies and squabbles with Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka are cited to justify this totally distorted and completely negative portrayal of the world's second most populous nation. What is really disconcerting is that even those who are well aware of India's march towards modernity often allow their visualisation to be marred by the wrong assumption that it is a society riven not only by communal feuds and class conflicts but also regional animosities and secessionist movements.

The Government cannot be blamed entirely for such impressions of India, since it is not easy to dispel prejudices based on ignorance even with the best possible publicity campaign. Going through the ordeals of economic development and social transformation, India has to put up with the agonising ordeals of a society in flux with centrifugal influences at work, sapping its energies and even leading

to a loss of direction at times. It cannot afford to be too sensitive to such criticism based on mistaken information, but it would be wrong to ignore it altogether without making a sustained effort to project a more positive image.

An imaginative effort has to be made to present a more agreeable picture of India based on facts rather than fantasies, but this is not something that can be done by the Government alone without the active cooperation of the press, the opposition and other informed sections of opinion.

It used to be fashionable at one time for Congress critics of foreign policy, who were afraid to question the relevance of some of Nehru's basic postulates, to play safe by talking only about the inadequacies of external publicity as an annual ritual during the budget debates. The attempt to combine an element of admiration for his international role with some implied criticism of his actions made them behave as though publicity could be a substitute for policy, that by propagating more adequately the rationale for the country's postures it should be possible to carry greater conviction abroad about the justification for its action.

After the 1962 debacle, the critics in India became more outspoken in disputing the very basis of non-alignment, of attempting to steer a middle course between the two superpowers, while in practice leaning heavily on the Soviet Union whatever the justification for it. But this criticism became muted again in the wake of Mrs. Gandhi's emergence as the most powerful personality on the political scene, because any attempt to pose awkward and embarrassing questions about foreign policy even with the best of intentions was liable to be looked upon with disfavour as an insidious bid to challenge the very basis of her leadership and dilute one's commitment to it.

Real challenge

The absence of an informed and intelligent debate on foreign affairs has led to the highly

misleading impression that any country that is not appreciative of India's policies is *ipso facto* hostile to it. The Government has failed to create a better internal awareness that a friendly foreign country could be critical of some of India's actions without automatically adopting an unfriendly attitude.

A big country like India can well afford to put up with a degree of foreign criticism, when conflicts of interest are involved and there is no ambiguity about its policies or actions. The real challenge is how to deal with subjective impressions based on prejudice or ignorance, which are partly, if not wholly, products of historical attitudes, romantic ideas or irrational apprehensions.

It is this aspect that has been ignored all these years, with the result that any political disorder, communal clash or regional agitation is enough to make those who are not well acquainted with the complexities of India jump to the gloomy conclusion that it is a polity in disintegration.

The current dismay of even friendly countries over the orgy of daily violence in Punjab has to be viewed in this context, not as a manifestation of ill-will towards India but one of well-meaning concern over the consequences of it. There are, of course, countries that would like to see India in deeper trouble, but fortunately they are not in a position to condition the attitudes of big powers or influence world opinion.

The question then is how should India proceed to tackle the many prevailing misconceptions about it abroad, whether it should engage in a worldwide publicity campaign or let other countries discover the truth in due course, that it is not a decaying society plagued by chronic internal dissensions for which there are no lasting solutions but a politically stable country faced with all the familiar problems of adjustment to economic growth and social change. But can India afford to remain unconcerned about what the world at present thinks of it, hoping that sooner or later truth must prevail and that it is better to let other people learn for themselves instead of trying to influence their views through a concerted publicity campaign?

The Prime Minister has been giving interviews to a very large number of visiting foreign journalists to get her views across to their peoples. These interviews certainly provide her with an excellent opportunity to use the mass media to dispel the many misconceptions about India, instead of confining herself to the articulation of foreign policy issues.

The Assam and Punjab problems can be explained only in their historical contexts, in political and philosophical terms, without adopting an unduly self-righteous attitude. It has to be explained cogently to foreign critics why such problems cannot be resolved overnight, because of the fear of a backlash in other States.

Fact of life

The Government need not be unduly apologetic about poverty which is a fact of life,

so long as it is able to focus attention on what has already been done, and what is intended to be done in the near future, to alleviate the suffering of the poor sections. But one cannot impress the world by merely distributing copies of the 20-point programme or adopting an unduly assertive or dogmatic attitude in rebutting criticism of faltering performance on the poverty front.

As much of the ignorance abroad about India is based on pathetic accounts of the poverty, squalor and privations of nearly half the population, it has to be explained to the world with due modesty that though much has already been done, a lot still remains to be done, without making any tall claim that the Government is all set to abolish it altogether soon.

At the political level, it has to be driven home with skill and imagination that India's special relationship with the Soviet Union has not come in the way of developing an equally beneficial relationship with the West, that it has extremely cordial relations with West European countries like Britain, West Germany and France, that it is not an anti-American country although it has been critical of successive U.S. administrations.

If it has had problems with some of the neighbouring countries, it cannot be said that the region is a world in itself limiting the horizons of its people. It cannot be denied that barring half a dozen countries at the most, India has excellent relations with the rest of the international community irrespective of ideological considerations.

Active cooperation

It is unfair to expect the External Affairs Ministry, let alone the External Publicity Division, to perform the miracle of creating overnight a better awareness of India's achievements and dispelling misconceptions about it. This is something that no government can do by itself without the active cooperation of all sections of opinion, so that nobody feels encouraged to denigrate one's own country even in the heat of an election campaign to run down the ruling party or highlight its failures.

There is wholesome respect among the better informed in many countries about India's achievements in many spheres although they are critical of its political attitudes. The foreign newspapers no longer carry charity advertisements with pictures of emaciated Indian children with begging bowls in hand, since the image of the nation's chronic starvation through recurring famines has disappeared with the green revolution. A lot of damage has also been done to the country's reputation by reports of rampant corruption, political manipulation and other malpractices in public life.

Senseless violence

But the more exotic caricatures of India as the home of elephants, tigers and snakes, of new jet set sadhus, fortune tellers and cheats out to fleece the credulous foreigner with the numbo-jumbo of their mysticism persist in the minds of the common people, who

have no special knowledge of modern India as a dynamic society learning the hard way through trial and error in its quest for rapid development.

It is the disquieting daily news reports of senseless political and communal violence, the shooting of innocents, frenzied destruction of public property and incitement of raw passions that are puzzling world opinion and making many wonder whether the country is going to survive the recurring internal threats to its security, unity and concept of a single nation.

It is a grievous mistake to brand anybody and everybody who expresses doubts about India's future in the face of such disconcerting events as being perversely anti-Indian even if he made no earnest attempt to understand India better and view its problems in the right perspective. The real task of creating a better awareness of its ethos, outlook on life and aspirations rests with India itself, which is answerable in the final analysis for all its imperfections and the internal or external reactions to them.

CSO: 4600/1842

VERDICT DELIVERED ON PAKISTANI SPY RING MEMBERS

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 10 Apr 84 p 4

[Text]

New Delhi, April 9 PTI: Justice M.L. Jain of the Delhi high court today acquitted Taj Mohammad, convicted along with eight others for spying for Pakistan.

They were arrested in 1976 when a spy ring was busted by the special branch of the intelligence department.

Justice Jain dismissed an appeal of the state for enhancement of sentences awarded to them by the lower court ranging from three years to 14 years of rigorous imprisonment under Section 3 of the Official Secrets Act.

Dismissing appeals of the eight other accused, the court upheld their convictions and sentences. It also directed the accused, whose appeals were dismissed and who are now on bail to surrender.

Mr Jain in his order observed, "The very fact that the accused indulged in such activities for a purpose which was prejudicial to the safety of the state makes them guilty and there is also no doubt that such attempts should be sternly dealt with. Yet despite all that, the court has to award sentences in proportion to the part played by the accused."

Considering the case in that light, the judge said he did not find that there was any scope for enhancement of the sentences. "To me they seem to be adequate," he added.

The special branch of the intelligence department, acting on a tip off, had arrested Salauddin on October 8, 1976, in Delhi.

On the basis of his statement, others, including the brain behind the ring, Mohammad Sadiq, a Pakistani national, were taken into custody.

ARTICLE DEPICTS HINDU-SIKH CONFRONTATION

Paris LE MONDE in French 29-30 Apr 84 p 4

[Article by Patrice Claude: "War of Saints in the Golden Temple of Amritsar"]

[Text] Amritsar--Amritsar, the Golden Temple, fortress of Sikh fundamentalist revival and focus of the accompanying agitation, is above all else a magnificent monument in the Indo-Moslem style. Completely covered with gold, it is a glittering building the size of a French provincial chapel. An inspired god must have placed it in the center of this small lake bordered by a long marble balustrade. The water of "Divine Nectar" Lake, which gave Amritsar its name, is eternally green, and the sky is almost always blue. It is a dreamlike vision through which move magnificent men, survivors of a faraway world and rigged out as though to engage in final and perilous combat with the Moguls.

But today's "nihangs"--guardians of the temple--are no longer content with the regulation sabre, dagger, and spears. Their chests are covered with cartridge belts, and the rifles, pistols, and Sten guns proudly brandished by the young men are less unreal. The sandbags--a pathetic wall of defense thrown up on the terraces of the temple's outbuildings--complete the picture and give the overall effect of a turbaned Far West set down in the middle of what is, when one gets down to it, an ordinary Indian city swimming in dust.

Outside the "forbidden city," in alleys crowded with rickshaws, automobiles, and shrines, in the colorful vendors' stalls, and in the dark corners of dirty buildings, helmeted and booted government soldiers in khaki stand guard. There are several thousand of them throughout the city, but they don't really know what they are doing there, since the order to invest the temple--as the central government's minister of interior repeats constantly--is not going to be given. Sikh pilgrims by the thousands enter and leave the shrine every day with no inspections at all--as they have from time immemorial.

Some of them come to meditate before the "Adi-Granth"--the holy book of the Sikhs, which contains the experiences, edicts, and prayers of the religion's 10 gurus. Others purify their souls and dip their bodies in the lake of nectar which, it seems, captivated Lord Buddha himself. The temple is quiet despite the gunfire that echoes through it from time to time and the seven or eight sacrilegious murders that have just been committed there. In the eyes of the faithful, it retains all its divine magic.

"Community of the Pure"

The "khalsaskkh"--that is, the "community of the pure"--has preserved its cult of weapons and martial traditions. The young men proudly displaying their artillery around the "gilded house of the one God" claim to be the direct heirs of Guru Gohind Singh, the "soldier guru" (1666-1708) who transformed the Sikh community into a real anti-Mogul military theocracy. As an irony of history, most of the weapons used by these new warriors come from neighboring Moslem Pakistan. In most cases, they were traded illegally for Indian whiskey, which despite its poor quality is widely sought after by a Pakistani elite subjected to the alcohol-free diet of Islam prescribed by the inflexible president, General Zia-ul-Haq. For that matter, the Indian Government constantly accuses Islamabad openly of supporting Sikh terrorism by supplying it with weapons and even training. But proof of such complicity has never been produced, and the problem is said to lie elsewhere, particularly in the increasing number of small guerrilla bands--with 200 or 300 men each--that regard the sacred temple as a training camp and the Indian Government as "an imperialist power."

Hardly anyone except the urbanized and educated Sikhs (60 percent of the Sikh peasants in Punjab are illiterate) is openly offended by the sophisticated arsenal stockpiled by the extremists in the outbuildings attached to the sanctum sanctorum--consisting of a good 1,000 miscellaneous sheds and offices. All the members of Akali Dal, the historical party founded in 1920 to win back control of the "gurdwaras" (temples) in Punjab from British colonialism's henchmen, are Sikhs. But all Sikhs are not "akali" ("immortal" in Punjabi).

The bravest of them--members of Mrs Gandhi's Congress Party, her leftwing opposition, and even Communists--are publicly demanding a "cleanup" of the temple by police. But the prime minister is resisting. Mrs Gandhi does not want the majority of the country's 12 million "pure" to turn against her. Especially since the president of the republic, Giani Zail Singh, himself a Sikh, has reportedly threatened to resign noisily if khaki-uniformed men set one foot on the white marble. It is true that the office he occupies is completely symbolic, but the political consequences of such a gesture would be incalculable.

So until further notice, the Golden Temple of Amritsar remains the headquarters of the extremists and the arena of intracommunity confrontations. The fact is that even among those claiming to serve it, Sikhism is far from monolithic. Despite the egalitarian commandments of the successive gurus, the imperishable Indian caste system still reigns supreme, even though it sometimes wears the hand-me-downs of political differences. Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, the obscurantist high priest of the fundamentalist revival, and Sant Harchand Singh Longowal, currently chairman of Akali Dal and the only hope, for the moment, for the moderate Sikhs, belong to the same caste--that of the Jats, the former warriors who have since become farmers and even big landowners. But they are fighting for control of different clientele with divergent interests. All they have in common is the final stake--that is, winning political control of Punjab, where two-thirds of India's Sikhs live. Longowal, phlegmatic and unintelligent, with an eternal smile, has always played the game of republican legality. The other man, fiery and volatile, with fire in his eyes, agrees with the 10th in the line of gurus, who said--long before Mao--that "power is at the end of a sabre."

It appears that Longowal's strategy still has the support of most Sikhs. But for how much longer? That is the question which everyone is asking and which no one can answer today with certainty. Isolated in his office in the Golden Temple less than 200 meters from the building occupied by Bhindranwale and the latter's young pistoleers, Longowal seems terribly weak. Control of the "morcha"--the "holy war of agitation" which he launched 3 years ago to force satisfaction of the political, economic, and religious demands of the Sikhs--seems to have slipped from his hands. Most of his lieutenants and advisers, including Badal Singh, the real strong man in the party and a former minister in Punjab, are in prison for having symbolically burned a supposedly anti-Sikh article of the Constitution.

Longowal, who can feel the fundamentalists breathing hotly down his neck, no longer knows what to do. If he negotiates an agreement with Mrs Gandhi and announces the end of the "morcha" tomorrow, there is a good chance that it will continue with even greater strength on orders from Bhindranwale. That would be the end of a party that has already been greatly discredited over the past few years and confirm the ascendancy of the extremists. Longowal is therefore continuing his forced march and trying, so far without success, to defuse the veiled conflict between him and the other sant ("sant" is a term of affection and respect bestowed by the Sikhs on their politicoreligious leaders).

The unfortunate thing is that the "war of the sants," as the Indian press calls it, has already resulted in the death of some 300 people in less than 3 years. The situation has not reached the point of a great Hindu-Sikh confrontation, which some Indian newspapers are erroneously calling it and which is being dreamed of by the crusaders of Khalistan, "the land of the pure"--the mystical Sikh state which lies dormant in the heart of every disciple of the gurus. But the danger needs to be taken seriously.

Danger of Explosion

For the moment, a walk through the streets of Amritsar and Chandigarh, the capital shared by the states of Punjab and Haryana, does not give the visitor the impression that two communities, one bearded and the other shaven, are on the point of slitting each other's throats. Everywhere--from the markets to the cafes, in administrative buildings and on public transportation--one can see Sikhs talking amiably with Hindus. The strategy of terror--which, for the terrorists, consists of assassinating well-known figures on the other side, throwing bombs in Hindu villages, and even firing at random on groups of passers-by--is a tactic which, although apparently so well perfected, cannot pay off, at least not yet. It is true that there have been violent confrontations between hotheads on both sides during processions and funerals, and even deaths have resulted, but there has been nothing comparable, for example, to the massacres that preceded and followed the big partition of 1947 that gave birth to Pakistan.

Curfews have been imposed here and there for varying periods, and the 50,000 or more soldiers, police officers, and frontier guards patrolling Punjab sometimes have a moderating effect on the crowds despite their own divisions. But while Indian history provides ample proof that the police have never been

able to prevent mass lunacy when it strikes the multitude, it is equally true that those brutal attacks of fever are unpredictable. The very palpable high tension inside the Golden Temple may degenerate at any time and spread like wildfire through Amritsar and the rest of Punjab. New Delhi's tactic, which consists of isolating the extremists from the moderates, has failed completely so far. It is the latter who, by their silence, seem to be gradually disappearing from the scene. Blunders have been committed, opportunities to solve the problem peacefully have been allowed to pass, and the entire problem remains. The problem, basically, is that of a small, courageous, and hard-working religious community (2 percent of the total population) which is refusing to let itself be drowned in a Hindu ocean, clinging to the memory of its past glories, and dreaming of becoming a separate nation, a status that the Hindu government can only reject unless it wants to get caught up in something that would be fatal for the Union. But the Sikh problem is also, perhaps, the problem of an India which has probably not found its permanent political and economic structures and which remains torn by the linguistic, cultural, and religious chauvinisms of the vast population groups making up the country.

The 45 Demands

The resolution of Anandpur Sahib was adopted at the Akali Dal Convention in October 1973 but was buried for many years by the party itself. It was resurrected after the local elections of 1980, which were won by Mrs Gandhi's party and resulted in the transfer of power in Punjab from the coalition headed by Akali Dal to her party. The resolution includes 45 demands, the most important of which are the following:

1. Autonomous status for Punjab.
2. A redrawing of the state's geographic boundaries to include the neighboring areas where Punjabi--the language favored by the Sikhs--is spoken.
3. The permanent attachment of Chandigarh to Punjab alone. That city is currently the capital of two states: Punjab and neighboring Haryana. Mrs Gandhi has given her consent in principle.
4. Army recruitment to be based solely on merit. The Sikhs, who constituted 30 percent of the armed forces in British India, now represent only 14 percent of the Union's armed forces. The government's stated policy is to gradually reduce the proportion of Sikhs in the army until it equals their percentage of the Union's total population (less than 2 percent).
5. Passage of a law authorizing the establishment of a National Council of Sikh Temples to oversee all gurdwaras (temples) in the country. The organization that administers temples under the control of Akali Dal currently has jurisdiction only over those in Punjab. Representing an important source of revenue--the council's annual budget is on the order of 60 million francs--the gurdwaras in the other states are administered by local Sikh organizations, most of them close to Mrs Gandhi's Congress Party.

6. New rules--in Punjab's favor--for sharing the water in the region that supplies three states. New Delhi has suggested that this problem be submitted to a court of law.

7. Installation of a high-powered transmitter in the Golden Temple for broadcasting the "gurbani" (the continuous reading of the "Granth," the sacred book of the Sikhs). Mrs Gandhi has said she is willing to install the transmitter for a few hours of broadcasting every day.

8. Studies aimed at passing new legislation on marriage, inheritance, and other Sikh family matters. The Hindu system currently being applied to the Sikhs makes a deceased man's daughters equal heirs with men. To prevent property from being broken up, Sikh landowners want only the eldest son to be designated the heir.

9. Lastly, a revision of article 25 of the Constitution, which is said to make Sikhism subordinate to Hinduism. The government first accepted this particular demand in principle, but it reversed itself in the face of the outcry from other religious minorities (Jains and Buddhists in particular).

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CSO: 4619/45

BRIEFS

INTUC LEADER DIES--LUCKNOW, April 14--Mr K. P Tripathi, a former M.P., died here due to cardiac arrest, reports PTI. He was 74. A former Minister of Assam, Mr Tripathi was the vice-president of the INTUC. He leaves behind three sons and two daughters. [Text] [Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 15 Apr 84 p 7]

NEW ASSAM GOVERNOR--GUWAHATI, April 15--Mr. Bhishma Narain Singh was today sworn in as the Governor of Assam at the Raj Bhavan here. Mr. Justice Kironmoy Lahari of the Guwahati High Court administered the oath of office and secrecy to Mr. Singh. Mr. Singh will leave here for Shillong tomorrow to take oath as Governor of Meghalaya. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Apr 84 p 1]

VESSELS IN GULF--Bombay, April 15 (UNI)--At least ten Indian cargo vessels and more than 23 "dhows" (sailing craft), all of which regularly trade between India and the Gulf ports, have been destroyed or damaged in the Iran-Iraq naval battle in the Persian Gulf. According to official shipping circles here, five cargo ships and almost all the "dhows" were trapped in the Iranian and Iraqi ports at the commencement of the Gulf war. A Calcutta-based shipping company had lost two of its ships "Priti" and "Ambica" which were on charter to the Iranian government. The whereabouts of a third ship "Anand" belonging to the company and operating in the Gulf was not known. The sources said a second engineer, a cadet officer and two seamen were so far reported killed in the Gulf war. A war-damaged cargo ship "Archana", belonging to the public sector Shipping Corporation of India, was repaired and brought back. The cargo ships damaged in the war include "Neelkanth", "Varuna", "Vijay Avtary", "Himalaya", "Rishi Vishwamitra", "Archana", "Priti" and "Ambica". [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Apr 84 p 7]

MEGHALAYA GOVERNOR--Shillong, April 16 (PTI)--Mr Bhishma Narain Singh was sworn in as the governor of Meghalaya by Justice Kironmoy Lahiri of the Gauhati high court at the Raj Bhavan here today. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 17 Apr 84 p 4]

BUDGET BILL PASSED--NEW DELHI, April 17--The appropriation bill relating to the budget demands for grants for 1984 was adopted by the Lok Sabha today by a voice vote. The bill authorises payment and appropriation of Rs. 171,930 crores from and out of the consolidated fund for the current financial year.

Earlier, the speaker, Mr. Balram Jakhar, had applied guillotine on the demands-wise consideration of the budget. There were 109 demands for grants relating to 38 ministries and departments. The house had adopted grants of 14 ministries grouped under ten heads. Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, finance minister, said that the government had been able to contain inflation to single digit. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 18 Apr 84 p 1]

ASSAM DEAL DENIED--NEW DELHI, April 20 (UNI)--The home minister, Mr. P. C. Sethi, today denied reports that a secret deal had been reached with the Assam agitation leaders to change the base year for detection of foreign nationals in the state. Mr. Sethi, speaking to a delegation of the all-Assam minority students (AAMSU) here, described the reports as "baseless" and said the base year for detection of such people in the state remained March 25, 1971, "as repeatedly announced by the government." The delegation, led by AAMSU president, Mr. Azghar Ali, in a memorandum opposed the move of the election commission to revise the electoral rolls in Assam on the basis of the 1971 rolls. The date for detection of the infiltrators from Nepal should be June 30, 1976, the memorandum added. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 21 Apr 84 p 1]

AMBASSADOR TO PRAGUE--NEW DELHI, April 19--Mr. Uday Chand Soni, Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs, has been appointed Ambassador to Czechoslovakia. Mr. Soni who succeeds Mr. N. P. Alexander, is expected to take up his assignment shortly. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 20 Apr 84 p 9]

CHANNA PARTY NAME--HYDERABAD, April 22 (UNI)--The National Democratic Party (NDP) formed by the former Andhra Pradesh chief minister, Mr. Channa Reddy, will now be known as the National Democratic Party of India. The state executive of the NDP which met here on Friday took the decision in view of the fact that a party with similar name was existing in Kerala and was also registered with the Election Commission, according to party press note issued here yesterday. The Election Commission brought to the notice of the NDP vice-president Roda Mistry, MP when she met the commission secretary in connection with the registration of the party. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 23 Apr 84 p 23]

INDO-SOVIET TRADE--BOMBAY, April 21--India's exports to and imports from Russia in 1983 amounted to Rs. 30 billion, Mr. Nikolai G. Osipov, the Soviet deputy minister for foreign trade and the leader of a delegation currently on tour here, said today. During the current year, the trade between the two countries is expected to be of the order of Rs. 40 billion, judging from the figures reached in the first quarter, he said. It is expected that the trade turnover will go up by at least 3 times during the next five years (1985-90). Mr. Osipov said that the delegation's objective was to identify common interest and to increase the number of commodities traded between the two countries. The delegation includes representatives of the U.S.S.R. trade plan committee and foreign trade ministry. Already, the delegation has had meetings with the Union ministries of commerce, and agriculture and the Minerals and Metals Trading Corporation. Russia, according to Mr. Osipov, would be interested in importing chemicals, vegetable oils, fertilisers, and some other commodities, besides expanding trade in the traditional commodities. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 22 Apr 84 p 10]

PARTIES IN RAJYA SABHA--The CPI (M) today displaced the Janata Party as the main Opposition group in the Rajya Sabha with the swearing-in of the new members. Despite its depleted strength after the recent biennial elections, the party now has 13 members whereas the size of the Janata Party has shrunk from 21 to nine. The CPI (M) had 16 members in the last session of the Rajya Sabha. The AIADMK has moved up to the second position with 11 members from the fourth position it held earlier when its strength was only nine. The Janata Party has taken the third position hitherto held by the BJP, whose strength has gone down from 14 to eight. The Congress (I) has improved its strength from 128 to 152, but is still short of a two-thirds majority in a House of 244 members with eight vacancies at present. Mr. Dipen Ghosh, Mr. K. Mohanan and Mr. Nirmal Chatterjee have been elected leader, deputy leader and whip respectively of the CPI (M) Parliamentary Group in the Rajya Sabha. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Apr 84 p 10]

INDO-SOVIET LAUNCH PLANS--India has signed an agreement with the Soviet Union for launching a remote sensing satellite, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi told the Lok Sabha on Wednesday, report agencies. She said the satellite, weighing about 950 kg, would be put in a polar sun-synchronous orbit at an altitude of 904 km from a Soviet cosmodrome in 1986. Mrs Gandhi said under the agreement between the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and Liansintorg (LIT) of the Soviet Union, the latter will provide tracking data for the satellite and facilities for receiving its telemetry data for 45 days after the launch. Mrs Gandhi said the ISRO will pay a sum of Rs 75 million to LIT towards launch services for the lift-off of the satellite. Under the agreement signed in 1982, it has been decided that if the Soviet rocket carrier fails to place IRS in orbit due to any malfunction of the launcher during or after lift-off, LIT at ISRO's request shall provide a repeat launch for placing the same or the second IRS, as the case may be into orbit, Mrs Gandhi said. It has also been decided that if after placing IRS in orbit, IRS fails to perform the mission, LIT shall consider the possibility of providing a repeat launch for placing second IRS into orbit. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 3 May 84 p 5]

MANIPUR MINISTER RESIGNS--Imphal, April 24 (UNI)--Manipur Minister of State for Irrigation and Flood Control Satkho Lal has resigned from the ministry. Mr Lal's resignation, submitted on 21 April, followed Chief Minister Rishang Keishing's directive asking him to relinquish his office for indulging in "anti-party activities." A similar directive was sent to Minister of State for Fisheries Chungkham Rajmohan Singh on the same grounds. But Mr Singh, now in Delhi to meet the leaders of the Congress-I high command, has not yet resigned. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Apr 84 p 1]

MICA TO USSR--A contract for export of 1030 tonnes of mica blocks, condenser films and powder valued at about Rs 10 crore to USSR during the next 6 months was signed in New Delhi by Dr B B L Madhukar, Chairman-cum-Managing Director of the Mica Trading Corporation of India Ltd. (MITCO) and the visiting delegation from USSR. The USSR delegation consisted of Mr A G Bourotsov and Mr C M Suvalov. A fresh contract with USSR will be negotiated in October for supply during November and December this year which is likely to be of the order of about Rs 4 crore. MITCO very recently concluded a contract for supply of mica worth over Rs 51 lakh to Czechoslovakia up to September '84 to be followed by

fresh contract for the remaining part of the year. GDR also is expected to buy mica and allied products valued at Rs 2 crore during the year. During 1983-84, MITCO exported mica worth over Rs 25 crores which represents an increase of 20 per cent over the previous year's level. MITCO, which has been earning profit since inception, has earned a net profit of over half a crore of rupees in 1983-84. In the current year (1984-85), MITCO has plans to export mica and allied products worth Rs 28 crores. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Apr 84 p 2]

INDO-NEPALESE ACCORD--Kathmandu, April 22 (UNI)--The Indo-Nepalese talks on the development of Nepal's water resources concluded here today with an agreement on the terms of reference for consultants in respect of the proposed Karnal hydro-electric project. The secretary-level meeting also decided to meet again in New Delhi in July to discuss other issues regarding the Karnali project and Pancheswar and the West Rapti project, leader of the Indian delegation at the three-day talks, Irrigation Secretary M G Padhye said after signing the joint minutes with his Nepalese counterparts Madhusudan Dhakal. According to an official press release in addition to the secretary level talks, the Karnali committee, the Karnali coordination committee of experts, joint group of experts on the Pancheswar and the Rapti joint technical committee also met separately to finalise the terms of reference in respect of each project. On the giant Karnali multipurpose project, the press release said, "considerable progress" had been registered during the talks. The Karnali committee finalised the short list of consultants and the joint group of experts on Pancheswar, "also registered a forward movement". [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Apr 84 p 1]

NEW GUJARAT GOVERNOR--GANDHINAGAR, April 27. The former Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. B. K. Nehru, was sworn in as the seventh Governor of Gujarat yesterday. The Chief Justice, Mr. S. Potti, administered the oath. Mr. Nehru succeeds Prof. K. M. Chandy who has been transferred as Governor of Madhya Pradesh. Lt.-Governor sworn in: Mr. Padmakar Ganesh Gavai was sworn in Lt. Governor of Delhi yesterday. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Apr 84 p 9]

CSO: 4600/1840

IRP ORGAN ANALYZES DEVELOPMENTS, WASHINGTON'S ROLE IN GULF

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 20, 21 May 84 pp 1, 12

[Text] In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful

These days, the reports of the attacks on the oil tankers in the Persian Gulf have brought the 44-month war of the Baghdad regime against the Islamic revolution to a new phase. The threat of the Baghdad regime to shake the security of the shipping lines is nothing new. The supporters of Iraq, especially France and the United States, have decided that they would be happy to give provisions and support to the Ba'thist army in the way of complicated military weapons and espionage intelligence. The course of events is gradually entering an irreversible stage after which Washington and Paris will have little opportunity to express their regrets.

The reaction of the world organizations, particularly the Security Council and the United Nations, must be recorded as historical documents, because they have to date followed a pattern of contented silence, imagining that the course of events will conclude in their interest and that of those who have the "veto power." However, the evidence shows that neither the contentment of the world organizations nor their silence will last long.

It is an accepted fact that in examining the events of the Middle East region, especially in evaluating the Persian Gulf situation, one cannot throw caution to the wind, because in this region, there are factors at work each of which have different characteristics depending on the situation of the region, which means that the evaluation of the Persian Gulf situation requires more information than is readily apparent.

Washington also realizes this fact, which has undoubtedly caused U.S. policy makers considerable worry. The course of events shows that the West, the United States in particular, is trying to extend the central crisis resulting from the Iran-Iraq war beyond the geographical borders of Iraq to the Persian Gulf

region. Washington's major goal in this policy is to be able, firstly, to enable the Baghdad regime to survive and, secondly, upon the fall of Baghdad, to have an excuse to continue the crisis in the region.

Now, all the political, military and propaganda capabilities of Washington and its allies have been mobilized to make possible the immediate transfer of the central crisis to the Persian Gulf. Washington primarily wishes to protect its interests in the region without having to engage in direct action, through provoking the regimes of the region in an apparently indirect form. However, the course of events in the region has gained so much velocity that it is impossible to be surreptitious in all cases. Furthermore, the reactionary regimes do not have the necessary political experience to deal with such cases so that Washington will be able to seize any decision-making or even expression of opinion from them on sensitive issues.

The presence of the U.S. AWACS airplanes in Saudi Arabia in this connection clearly proves that the Saudi court has no say concerning interference or even the expression of opinions in this case. The AWACS airplanes fly over the Arabian Peninsula in the name of the government of Riyadh, but the information gathered is put at the disposal of the U.S. authorities without the Saudi Arabian authorities being informed of the details. In other words, the hedonistic princes of the Saudi court, without a thought of the consequences of their decision, have placed the most sensitive U.S. electronic spying equipment in the heart of the Middle East. Washington wishes to push Arab reactionaries along a course in various ways, including resorting to its AWACS information, so that there will be no turning back for it and they would be unable to control the events of the region, even under the best of circumstances. The courts of the region have imagined that in inviting the United States to protect their regimes, they have gained a great advantage, whereas it has been Washington that has thus far benefitted immensely from the ignorance of the Arab reactionaries, turning them into temporary impediments within the domain of its own interests. In this new game, Washington counts on the courts of the region and all their military capability as mere "sand bags," because it knows that the regimes of the region--all of whom together, based on the most exaggerated of statistics and figures, do not exceed the military capability of Iraq--are incapable of any action or reaction worth mentioning. Given this, who will be the winner in the Persian Gulf?

With these conflicts, given the circumstances of Washington not stopping at any effort to provoke the Arab reactionaries, can the Arab reactionaries still be winners in this game? It must tormenting to the regimes of the region to know that the United

States only risks its interests in the course of provoking them, while they risk the existence of their regimes.

The worried court of Oman has recently announced that it will put a military base at the disposal of the United States, but the courts of the region must begin to ponder to find a proper response to the question of what guarantees exist that the destiny of the government of Lebanon will not be repeated for them and a more hand-trained regime would not replace them should the United States enter the region. Why do the hedonistic Arab kings only represent the government desired by the United States as long as the region is calm? What guarantees exist that the existence of the regimes of the region will be preserved under any circumstances?

The United States has shown in practice that if it finds the opportunity and there is no obstacle, in order to protect its interests, it is prepared to trample the corpses of nations and it will require no permission or agreement of the discredited courts of the region to do so. In the meantime, the Arab nations of the Persian Gulf region will be the first victims to be trampled under the boots of the U.S. soldiers.

Without giving any appreciable concessions to the Arab reactionaries, Washington has easily gained naval and military concessions and the most favorable espionage resources in the Arab countries.

But, despite all this, Washington knows that the Persian Gulf is not an appropriate place to flex its might, because it knows that despite the humble reaction of the hedonistic Arab kings, there are others who would welcome them with their firey weapons and would certainly send more corpses to Washington, which would not be a welcome souvenir for the U.S. voters.

Up to this point, we have learned that the preservation of the existing regimes in the region cannot always be assured. Washington needs the existing regimes so long as they protect its interests. But when these regimes are no longer able to protect the interests of Washington and when the problems involved could result in military expeditions and the military presence of the United States in the region, then the protection of the hedonistic Arab kings and princes will no longer be essential, because the standards and factors effective in the balance of the region will suddenly be faced with a fundamental change. Each of the Arab kings who has set his hopes on Washington can ponder the question of what his credibility is before the U.S. policy makers and whether the value of his regime within the domain of U.S. interests is greater than that of the credibility of the regime of the annihilated shah.

It must not be forgotten that Washington did its utmost to protect the regime of monarchical tyranny in Iran, yet what was the end result of all those efforts? Every declaration of support for the monarchical regime in Iran by the White House helped to overthrow the Iranian tyrant. Now, the situation of the region has totally changed. Washington does not wish to repeat its past mistakes and certainly will not bother about protecting regimes that can do nothing but enjoy hedonism.

As such, the Arab reactionaries' invitation to the United States to enter the region and welcome of the U.S. soldiers, more than being without regard for the future, illustrates the ignorance of the Arab reactionaries. Transferring the central crisis resulting from the Iran-Iraq war from the land to the waters of the Persian Gulf will primarily be to the detriment of the Arab reactionaries, because the new balance of power in the Persian Gulf will under no circumstances be in the interests of the courts of the region. Washington wants to disrupt the Persian Gulf at the hands of the extremely humiliated Arab kings because it does not want to simply send the American soldiers to slaughter.

In playing with fire such, it cannot be said that the Saudi court has been victorious because Riyadh, in the course of spreading fire to the Persian Gulf, had never counted on the southern winds bringing the fire easily to the palaces of the hedonistic princes. In addition, Washington will also fail to benefit from this action because the contemporary world is like the law of communicating vessels and in the Persian Gulf, which is like the vital artery of the industrial world, one cannot create a crisis and expect the crisis to be contained in this area.

Washington imagines that it can create an atmosphere which will result in the United States being able to stabilize its military position in Arab and Islamic countries without granting the slightest concessions. But the United States policy makers have forgotten that in the contemporary world, military resources alone are no longer considered an advantage and that there is no less, if not more, of a possibility of the repetition of the events of Beirut. Furthermore, if the fire of the war is transferred from the land to the waters of the Persian Gulf, the waters of the Persian Gulf will easily transport this rebellious fire to the oceans and the United States knows that it has much to lose. With all this, it would seem unlikely that the U.S. policy makers are unaware of the law of communicating vessels. This is a natural law that Washington is unable to violate or halt through international organizations.

It is for this reason that the governments of the region must quickly think of a way out and seek another solution than inviting the U.S. soldiers and escalating the crisis. It would

seem that the Saudi Arabian minister of defense must be called the most intelligent of the Saudi court because, with an awareness of this issue, he has asked that the agent attacking the oil tankers be identified and punished as the aggressor.

The defense minister of Saudi Arabia knows who suggested the oil dock of Kharg as the target of its attack. He knows that this is not the first time that Iraq has attacked commercial ships and seriously endangered the security of shipping in the Persian Gulf.

Obtaining a list of ships that have been damaged from the beginning of the 44-month war by Iraq is not a difficult task for the defense minister of Saudi Arabia. He should review the official military communiques of Iraq once in order to realize that dozens of attacks on commercial ships have been claimed as the glories of the less than glorious Ba'thist military of Iraq.

If this fact is unknown to everyone else, at least the defense minister of Saudi Arabia knows that in this adventurism, the Saudi court plays a major role as the major source of currency for purchasing weapons needed by Iraq, including those weapons which are making the Persian Gulf insecure. The Saudi court is also one of the main agents.

It is not too difficult for the Arab reactionaries to understand the fact that the nations meanwhile will have favorable opportunities to make use of the existing situation. The humiliated Arab reactionaries can do nothing more than express their humiliation. It is the Muslim nations of the region who can use this golden opportunity to rise up and take over their own destiny as the main winners in this quarrel.

In this connection, there is only one point which the princes of the Saudi court perhaps never thought about, which is the law of communicating vessels, which in its political sense, proves that the instigator of crisis cannot be safe from the consequences of that crisis.

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CSO: 4640/244

ARMY, REVOLUTION GUARDS 'UNITY' LAUDED BY MINISTER

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 6 May 84 p 2

[Text] Esfahan. In the ceremonies honoring the blessed birthday of the great guardian of Islam, Imam Hoseyn, and Guards Corps day, which were held in Esfahan, the minister of the Guards Corps said: Unity between the military of the Islamic Republic and the Guards Corps is such that if anyone wanted to distinguish them on the front lines of the war, he would have to ask them.

According to an IRNA report, in these ceremonies, participated in by Hojjat ol-Eslam Mohaqqueq, head of the office of the imam's representative in the Guards Corps of Region 2, as well as the military and law enforcement commanders in Esfahan and a large group of the martyr-nurturing people of this city who are always present on the scene, after reciting several verses of the Koran, brother Rafiqdust, the minister of the Guards Corps, explained the history and the motivation behind the establishment of the Guards Corps and said: Before the victory of the Islamic revolution, the supporters of the imam and those who were close to the revolution thought about the establishment of the Guards Corps to preserve and protect the great Islamic revolution which they knew was about to be victorious. The Guards Corps was not established to replace the army or any other organization; it was founded to preserve the fruits of the revolution. Referring to the conspiracies created by domestic minigroups and global oppression to fight this institution which sprang from the revolution, he said: The treacherous Bani-Sadr always tried to separate these two divine forces, but today, by the blessed leadership of the commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the idol-breaking Khomeyni, such a unity exists in our armed forces which has been a cause for worry to global oppression. Referring to the greatness of the Guards Corps and the glories which it has achieved in fighting domestic and foreign conspirators and at the side of the army in the war, the minister of the Guards Corps said: The Guards Corps started its activity from nothing, empty handed, and gave so many martyrs to the revolution that if the blood of the martyrs were to flow in a river, it would be a flood to uproot global oppression. We owe all of this glory to such a

day, which is the auspicious birthday of the great Guard of Islam.

In conclusion, brother Rafiqdust lauded the unity among the various strata of the people, especially the armed forces, and said: By the auspiciousness of this unity, the Iraq problem will be resolved in future operations.

These ceremonies concluded with the magnificent march of the armed forces before the Koran and the portrait of the great leader of the revolution.

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CSO: 4640/245

IRAN CLANDESTINE REPORTS ON TENSION IN ESFAHAN

GF121703 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 12 May 84

[Text] According to reports by national elements, after the end of the first round of the made-to-order elections of the regime in Esfahan, the nonparticipation of people therein, and overt and covert differences in the city, security measures in the city have become most stringent. These reports say that the patrolling by the mercenaries of Sarollah in the streets of Esfahan have been increased. Similarly, the mercenaries of the Komitehs, guards and the mobilized personnel have set up surveillance posts and checkpoints in the streets and important places. These posts were especially set up on (Kaveh) Avenue up to the Tehran Gate.

The same reports add that Salavati and Kazem-e Bojnurdi, two who prior to the holding of the made-to-order elections were supporters of the regime, boycotted these elections.

The national element reports add that secret pamphlets containing disclosures about Hashemi-Rafsanjani and revealing his past are being distributed in the cities of Tehran, Mashhad and Qom. In these secret pamphlets Hashemi-Rafsanjani has been given the title of "martyr of Islam" and it is said that his family was Zoroastrian and that it is not long ago that they embraced Islam.

CSO: 4640/257

WAR PROPAGANDA CHIEF: 'IRAQ TRIES TO INTERNATIONALIZE WAR'

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 21 May 84 p 2

[Interview with War Propaganda Head Dr Kamal Kharrazi by ETTELA'AT; date and place not specified]

[Text] Dr Kamal Kharrazi, head of the war propaganda headquarters, responded to the questions of our correspondent in an exclusive interview with ETTELA'AT concerning the disruptive actions of the United States and its reactionary supporters in the region, the actions of the Islamic Republic in this regard, and the possibility of a direct military attack by the United States.

In connection with the actions of the Islamic Republic in regards to identifying to the international organizations the true party guilty of creating disturbances in the Persian Gulf region, Dr Kharrazi said: The main policy of the Islamic Republic has been to inform the people of the world and the international organizations about the war and the barbaric aggression of the Baghdad regime. Hence, in the course of the past week, in a letter to the secretary general of the United Nations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pointed out the disturbances created by Iraq. We believe that this recent conspiracy is also an example of the open violation by the regime of Iraq of the rights of the people of the nations of the region and another step towards spreading the imposed war.

In connection with the damaged ships in recent days, Dr Kharrazi said: In the first days, two Saudi Arabian ships, the Safinah al-'Arab" and the "Al-Uhud" and then a Greek ship were hit by missiles and suffered damages. Also, recently two ships from Kuwait and a Saudi Arabian ship were damaged. The destination of these ships was the oil docks of Kharg or those of Saudi Arabia or Kuwait.

Concerning the payment of damages for these ships, he said: Essentially every ship is insured at the time it enters the war zone and the insurance companies pledge to pay the damages

resulting from attacks. Of course, the countries to which these ships belong do not suffer losses because the damages to the ships are paid by the insurance companies. Hence, one can understand the depth of this conspiracy and how the sheikdoms have conspired with Iraq to spread this conspiracy to internationalize the war.

The head of the war propaganda headquarters said in connection with the possibility of a direct military attack by the United States in the region: After the humiliating defeat of the United States in Lebanon, it would be madness for the United States to interfere in this region (Persian Gulf) as well. Undoubtedly, this issue is far more important than Lebanon and the party in conflict with the United States in this region is the organized and powerful force of the combatants who have presently brought the superpowers to their knees with their self-sacrifice in the war.

He added: The main issue here is to put pressure on the Islamic Republic to stop loading at the Kharg dock and to drag us to imposed negotiation at the peace table. Meanwhile, our enemies must know that our warnings are serious. If our interests are going to be compromised in the region and we are unable to export oil, there is no reason why a drop of oil should be exported from the Persian Gulf. Hence, we have responded and will respond to every conspiracy with all our might.

In connection with the effect of stopping the exports of oil on the United States and the countries in the region, he said: Essentially, the great global powers are planning on a short period of time for a conspiracy and want to force us in a short period of time through political and military pressure to stop fighting. But, on the other hand, the United States and its agents in the region themselves are put under economic and public pressure as a result of these events and the stoppage of oil exports would be intolerable to them. Certainly the United States and the governments of this region calculate that they cannot withstand such resistance.

In conclusion, he pointed out that the Islamic Republic of Iran, despite the large area of the region, will do its utmost to escort and give air cover to these ships.

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CSO: 4640/245

FVOI REVEALS FURTHER FACTS ON ZABOL CLASHES

GF272000 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 27 May 84

[Text] According to our correspondent in Zahedan, executions and daily arrests in Sistan va Baluchestan has nothing to do with the smuggling of drugs as claimed by Khomeyni's regime. The report states that the arrests and murders by the Khomeyni regime are a reaction to the bloody events which occurred during the contrived election shows for the second Majlis of mullahs. Our compatriots are aware of these clashes in the southeast of the country and have heard about events in Zabol during the first round of elections which resulted in the dispatch of hundreds of guards to that city. This resulted in the barbaric crushing of the people of the region.

One Majlis candidate who had popular support was disqualified by the Interior Ministry because he was not a crony of the regime even though he was liked and respected by the people of Zabol. As a result the people of the city refrained from selecting the government's candidate and staged a sit-in in the city's hoseyniyeh. The governor general of Baluchestan, a hezbollahi, first asked gendarmerie and the police and then the army for aid to crush the strikers. However, since he did not feel satisfied with these actions to end the complaints of the people of the city, he called in the guards corps and as a result the murdering guards of the regime attacked the city's hoseyniyeh and encircled it. Since the people did not give up, they opened fire and murdered or wounded a number. People in turn attacked the guards and having disarmed the entire group, imprisoned all of them.

Our correspondent's report from Zahedan adds that the city of Zabol thus fell into the hands of the people for 2 days during which the governor general who had gone there and the mercenary governor of the city were also under popular arrest. The Interior Ministry which is headed by Mullah Nateq-Nuri, a fourth rate mullah, started a publicly deceitful propaganda campaign alleging that the popular candidate was approved by the Islamic Republic. However, the people of Zabol were not deceived and did not release the arrested hezbollahis and guards. Thus the anti-nationalist so-called Islamic regime sent a group of 300 guards, armed with every weapon, to murder innocent people. They encircled the city and finally managed to break the popular resistance and impose control over Zabol.

The guards whose death the regime has attributed to clashes with armed ruffians and smugglers, are in fact the mercenaries who were annihilated during the clashes with the patriotic tribes of Zabol. We note that the bodies of 19 of these guards were buried in Tehran some days ago. The lying so-called Islamic regime claimed that they had attained the ultimate "goal of martyrdom" during clashes with smugglers.

The Free Voice of Iran, while expressing its gratitude to that group of zealous Baluchestan tribes who have managed to get our correspondent's report of the clandestine transmitter center of the Free Voice of Iran, reminds our dear compatriots that our correspondents are everywhere--from Arrart close to the Turkish border to the Persian Gulf in southern Iran--and people can be certain that any form of resistance by the people will be reported by the clandestine Free Voice of Iran radio via its secret transmitters for the information of all our compatriots across Iran. We also have correspondents in Europe and you can send reports about events in Iran to them via your relatives in Europe.

CSO: 4640/255

FRG MAGAZINE INTERVIEWS EXILED AYATOLLAH

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[Interview with Ayatollah Tehrani by DER SPIEGEL editors Adel S. Elias and Hans Hielscher in Baghdad; date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Ayatollah Tehrani, how serious is Khomeyni's threat that Iran might close the Strait of Hormuz and thus turn off the most important oil spigot for the Western world?

Tehrani: I know that the Iranian Army has no definite plans to blockade the strait. I doubt that it could put up a sea barrier. Still, Khomeyni and his people are ignoramuses, and I believe they are capable of doing anything because they cannot assess the consequences of their actions. If he deemed it opportune, Khomeyni would not hesitate for a minute to issue the foolish order to close the Strait of Hormuz.

SPIEGEL: You mean the ayatollah intervenes directly in the conduct of the war?

Tehrani: Yes, Khomeyni himself sets the dates for the attacks. However, the army leadership is allowed to offer objections now and then. He also allows a certain period of time to eliminate military deficiencies prior to an offensive. However, Khomeyni prescribes exactly to the officers when and where they have to attack. In his process he heartlessly and mercilessly uses masses of people just as the Mongolians and Tatars once did.

SPIEGEL: The military amateur at the top notwithstanding, the Iranian Armed Forces are fighting with remarkable success. Is the war against Iraq really so popular with the people?

Tehrani: Please believe me, the war is not popular. If you were in a position to ask questions within the ranks of the Iranian Army, you would find less than 100 soldiers who are in favor of continuing the war against Iraq. Ever since Iraq withdrew its forces to its own territory....

SPIEGEL: It was repulsed.

Tehrani: Many Iranians are demanding that an end be put to the war. This is even demanded in public by some ayatollahs in their Friday prayers. This is why Khomeyni has criticized them. The fact that the Iraqis are now on their

own territory is no reason, he says, to end the war. As Khomeyni puts it: "Iraq must be occupied, otherwise our revolution is doomed to fail." No one could express his aggressive aims more unequivocally.

SPIEGEL: What does Khomeyni want to do with an occupied Iraq?

Tehrani: Ayatollah Rafsanjani, president of the Iranian Parliament and also a loyal Khomeyni supporter, told me verbatim: "If we can put Iraq in our pocket, then our two countries will become one single country which will be the largest oil producer in the world. Together we would then number about 60 million Muslims and we would wield enormous power over the world economy. Saudi Arabia and its ally the United States would be paralyzed and the Gulf countries would fall right into our lap like a bunch of ripe grapes."

SPIEGEL: Iranian soldiers are fighting for these great-power dreams?

Tehrani: They have no other choice. Whoever refuses to fight is executed. Revolutionary Guards drive the soldiers to the frontlines like herds of cattle.

SPIEGEL: Who drives the Revolutionary Guards?

Tehrani: To understand the fanaticism of Khomeyni's guards, you have to realize that this elite group and their families enjoy great privileges. They get more and better quality food and they live in more beautiful apartments and houses than other citizens. Medical treatment for their children is free of charge. Depending on the size of the family, every revolutionary guard receives 5,000-6,000 tumans in addition to his monthly wages. For this reason, many people apply with the Revolutionary Guards.

SPIEGEL: You certainly cannot deny, that Khomeyni's volunteers are also inspired by religious motives.

Tehrani: Khomeyni promises them heaven if they die for Islam. It is primarily small children of poor parents who believe this--they are at the battle front to support their families at home. However, no matter how religious Khomeyni's argumentation may be, it is simply a crime. I call this the sale of children. This has never happened before in the history of Islam.

SPIEGEL: Still, Khomeyni considers himself to be the voice of Islam.

Tehrani: Even more than that. He once told us, the ayatollahs, that "whoever criticizes me, criticizes Islam and its prophets, because I am the prophet's successor and I preach his ideas." However, he is nothing but a swindler and a schizophrenic.

SPIEGEL: He reportedly even accepts weapons from his mortal enemy, Israel. Are such reports true?

Tehrani: I have seen documents signed by the Iranian prime minister that clearly testify to Iranian weapons purchases from Israel. Meanwhile, these

deals are also indirectly admitted by the Iranian regime itself. It has issued a religious experts report that is intended to prove that it is in conformity with the law to accept weapons from the enemy.

Through its deliveries, Israel, on the other hand, achieves two goals: It prolongs war between Iran and Iraq, thus tying up the Iraqi Army; in addition, arms exports are helpful for Israel's ruined economy.

When I learned that Iran was buying arms from Israel, I told Khomeyni: "Some of the men in your clique of mullahs must be of Jewish decent. Otherwise I cannot imagine why we Iranians are rendering Israel such a good service."

SPIEGEL: Who is paying for Khomeyni's costly war?

Tehrani: Almost one-fourth of the workers' net income is deducted as a contribution to the war. The people are no longer allowed to give religious offerings directly to the clergymen. They are collected by Revolutionary Guards [who] pass them on directly to Imam Khomeyni. Khomeyni's men repeatedly extort donations from bazaar merchants.

SPIEGEL: How do they do this?

Tehrani: They say: "We have information on you. You paid so and so much money to support the shah's regime, a tyrannical regime. You can make up for this only by paying double or even triple to us." The shopkeepers have no choice but to pay. Quite often dirty tricks are used to collect money from honorable men. Let me give you an example from Mashhad involving a man who owned a poultry store. One day Revolutionary Guards appeared and maintained that he was selling liquor, which was, of course, nonsense. They immediately sent him to jail. When the son went to get his father out of jail, he was told quite frankly: "If you want to get your father back, you must pay 50,000 tuman." That was on a Friday, our holiday, when banks are closed. The son, therefore, wanted to write a check, which, however, was refused. The old man was released only after his son paid 50,000 tuman in cash on Saturday.

SPIEGEL: In your opinion, how should the Western countries act toward the Iranian-Iraqi war?

Tehrani: Please let me convey a message to the world through DER SPIEGEL: I appeal to the entire world to follow the message of Allah, which says: Respect human rights and respect human dignity. Men must live in freedom and be tolerant toward those with different views and creeds.

You Europeans have founded societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, which must be welcomed. However, please also set up societies for the prevention of cruelty to men in Iran. Help us get rid of Khomeyni's tyranny. Defend us, too, not and just animals. [as printed]

SPIEGEL: Khomeyni is 84 years old now. Is he in good health?

Tehrani: He is not in good health. He has suffered from asthma ever since his early years. For this reason he has claimed he is not compelled to fast--something that is, after all, not in conformity with Islam.

He has a damaged spinal disk that sometimes causes him great pain. For this reason he is sometimes ill-tempered and malicious. When he kneels to pray and bows, he often cannot get back up without help. In addition, Khomeyni still suffers from the effect of a stroke he suffered 25 years ago in Isfahan. It is hard for him to concentrate.

His heart also is not in good shape. He sometimes runs a temperature and has difficulties with his bladder and prostate gland. He has difficulty urinating, and some people close to him claim he is suffering from cancer of the bladder. During my last meeting with Khomeyni in March, his son Ahmad told me that his doctors had forbidden the ayatollah any physical stress.

SPIEGEL: Is he allowed to walk or move at all?

Tehrani: He is not allowed to climb steps. In Khomeyni's house there were two rooms on different levels, one for prayers and one to receive guests. Previously a few steps connected the two rooms. On the instructions of his doctors, the house was rebuilt.

SPIEGEL: Is it correct that Khomeyni was recently married again--to a young woman?

Tehrani: No, that is not true. He has a wife who is younger than he is and whom he adores. I am not quite sure, but I think she is 65 at most. As I said, he is still very much in love with his wife and did not have sexual relations with anyone except his wife. I hope that by reporting so many details about his illnesses, I have not revealed anything sacrosanct or private about Khomeyni.

SPIEGEL: Khomeyni's illnesses are a political factor.

Tehrani: That is correct. I remember the talks I held 3 years ago with Bani-Sadr, the former Iranian president. I asked him to do everything in his power to end the wars against the Kurds and Iraq.

To my surprise, the president answered: "I can and will do nothing about that. Khomeyni's Soviet doctors told me in confidence that the ayatollah has another 3 months at best to live. Why should I start quarreling with him and get him angry with me? Take it easy, we only have to hold out these 3 months."

SPIEGEL: These 3 months turned out to be many years. Politically, the old man has survived young Bani-Sadr, who fled to Paris. Who is running things in Tehran now? Only Khomeyni?

Tehrani: Everyone in the state apparatus is responsible to Khomeyni personally. It would be wrong to believe that anything of importance happens in Iran without Khomeyni being informed. The minister of the interior, who is so important, is naturally under Khomeyni's direct control. Be it the president, be it the

prime minister--they are nothing but puppets in Khomeyni's game. His son, Ahmad, deals with the details. Next to his father, he is the real ruler of the state apparatus. He is the great satan.

SPIEGEL: Does his father know about the kidnappings, tortures, and thousands of executions in his country? Or are many things happening without his knowledge?

Tehrani: I once approached Khomeyni on this subject because many families concerned were alarmed and asked me for help. They were looking for their families who had disappeared, and others came to me with their tortured children.

I talked about this in detail with Khomeyni, telling him that some torturers were ready to come to him and name those who were responsible for the relevant orders. I told him that his party, the Islamic Republican Party, had its own prisons and torture chambers. Khomeyni answered: "The party has no jurisdiction in this respect." He authorized me to set up a commission in the city of Mashhad to investigate events there. He accepted my proposal to set up parallel commission so that two independent bodies could make investigations.

SPIEGEL: What did they find?

Tehrani: The findings of the two commissions were identical. They determined that there were tortures. I organized a campaign against torture and violence. Tehran Radio then had a talk with Tehran Public Prosecutor Lajevardi: "Tehrani claims that innocent people are being tortured and killed. What do you, as prosecutor, have to say about that? Is it true?" The prosecutor had to confirm the facts.

SPIEGEL: What was Khomeyni's reaction?

Tehrani: He justified torture by Islamic laws and Islamic requirements. However, that is wrong because according to the Koran, punishment is imposed only after guilt has been proven. The Koran clearly says what punishment a highwayman and what punishment an adulterer have to expect, but the Koran says nothing about punishment prior to the establishment of guilt, and nothing about torture.

SPIEGEL: Khomeyni was once your friend. When did you become enemies?

Tehrani: Besides his wife and children, no one in the world was together with Khomeyni for such a long time--14 years. For 8 years I was his loyal student and attended his religious lectures in Qom every day. I looked after Khomeyni's family in Iran, and when the ayatollah was exiled I visited him in Iraq. For more than 10 years, I lived with his late son Mustafa.

SPIEGEL: What was so fascinating about Khomeyni?

Tehrani: We admired him as a deeply religious and selfless man with outstanding theological knowledge. I must admit I believed in this man and trusted him blindly.

SPIEGEL: How did he live during the monarchy?

Tehrani: Khomeyni's father Mustafa had left his son some property, for instance, several apartment houses. Khomeyni could live in grand style from the rent alone. He has never known poverty and hunger. Since his childhood he has worn only finest clothes.

SPIEGEL: Yet, he appears to be ascetic and popular. The masses apparently do not see a feared dictator in him, and his revolutionary country has a parliament. Two parliamentary elections have been held in 5 years, even though they certainly were not free.

Tehrani: Do not let yourself be deceived. All so-called institutions in Khomeyni's Iran are nothing but theater stages. He misleads the people and wants to make them believe that they can participate in decisions. However, in reality he decides everything together with his clique of mullahs and his son Ahmad in particular, who virtually has his father twisted around his little finger.

SPIEGEL: Will Ahmad become Khomeyni's successor?

Tehrani: I do not know. In this connection, what Khomeyni says in his final testament will be decisive. It will be opened after the ayatollah is dead. Many people believe that Khomeyni has picked Ayatollah Montazeri to be his successor. In my view, it could also be Ahmad. Montazeri and Ahmad have been enemies for years.

SPIEGEL: Could the mullahs not continue to rule in the same manner after Khomeyni's death?

Tehrani: They are at loggerheads with each other. For instance, there is a group who would like to mercilessly eliminate the followers of the Bahai belief. Others have a leftist tendency, and still others are firmly pursuing Khomeyni's line. I do not believe, for instance, that Ayatollah Beheshti and his entire leadership group were killed 3 years ago by the leftist Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization [MOK].

SPIEGEL: But by whom?

Tehrani: By rival mullahs. The real murderer was a man called Kolahi. He had nothing to do with MKO. It was merely an internal power struggle.

SPIEGEL: Is there any proof of this?

Tehrani: Rafsanjani left the room shortly before the bomb exploded that killed Beheshti. At the time Rafsanjani was considered to be the ambitious rival of Beheshti.

SPIEGEL: Are all the mullahs agreed in their goal of exporting the Iranian revolution, for instance, to Lebanon.

Tehrani: Khomeyni told me that people under his command were staying in Baalbek, Beirut, Tyre, and Sidon. They blew up the Iraqi Embassy in Beirut, and the kamikaze attacks against the U.S., French, and Israeli headquarters in Lebanon also bore the handwriting of Khomeyni's people.

Khomeyni told me: "We must not neglect our talks of triggering off the Islamic revolution throughout the entire Islamic world."

SPIEGEL: What does this mean in concrete terms?

Tehrani: Under the guise of religious visits and family calls, the regime sends instructors to those countries where there is the possibility of successful agitation. The Iranian embassies in the European countries are also centers for violent Khomeyni followers.

Another method is to organize religious and other conferences in Tehran. To which men of the Islamic faith from Arab states or African Islamic countries are invited. Just recently, for example, a medical congress was held on "Islam and environmental protection." However, after the conference sessions, the Iranians sought to indoctrinate the participants and recruit them for the Islamic revolution. They are generously hosted, receive a lot of money and then are supposed to set up revolutionary cells in their homelands.

SPIEGEL: Do training camps for Islamic fighters also exist in Iran?

Tehrani: I know of three training camps for Khomeyni followers from all over the world. I never visited them because I do not like the idea. An Iranian army colonel is responsible for the military training and a man by the name of Fazlallah Mahallati for the foreign actions. All the work abroad is in the hands of Khomeyni's son, Ahmad.

SPIEGEL: The regime also used the pilgrimage to Mecca for propaganda actions. Was this done with Khomeyni's approval?

Tehrani: Khomeyni attaches great importance to the pilgrimage. However, he regards it not just as a religious duty, but also as a political mission. Upon their return, pilgrims to Mecca complained to me about the impudent behavior of Iranian Revolution Guards in the host country of Saudi Arabia. They were ashamed that their religious rites were disturbed by brawls. I reminded Khomeyni that the Kaaba in Mecca is the "Al-Beit al-Haram," the "Holy House," and if he claims that the revolution is the first duty of all Muslims, this duty need not be performed there, of all places.

SPIEGEL: Does Khomeyni also demand the fulfillment of revolutionary duties in Europe?

Tehrani: Shortly before I left Tehran, I heard that Khomeyni followers from London and Paris had arrived in Tehran. They had been put under arrest in Europe because they had plotted attacks. The government then quietly deported them because they were afraid of Khomeyni's terror.

SPIEGEL: France protected Khomeyni during the shah's era.

Tehrani: Khomeyni hates France now. The country has good reason to be afraid of attacks because as far as Khomeyni is concerned, it is the worst devil in Europe. Germany, in contrast, probably will be spared. The economic relations between the Federal Republic and Iran are very good. The Iranians can get practically everything from Germany and Germany buys oil and thus indirectly finances Iran's war against Iraq.

SPIEGEL: Khomeyni's worst enemy, however, is "America." For some time, though, he has also been calling the Soviet Union "satan." What is the reason for this literal use of diabolic names?

Tehrani: When Khomeyni swears that America is one of the big satans, and Russia another, and France is a small satan, this is just big talk for reasons of domestic policy. It gives him the justification under the Koran to liquidate people who are supporters or alleged supporters of the "satanic" powers.

SPIEGEL: Does not Khomeyni view the United States to be a real danger?

Tehrani: Yes, but that has not always been the case. Long before he assumed power, Khomeyni was in contact with the Americans. In his Paris exile, U.S. politicians like Ramsey Clark came and went by the backdoor of his house. There also was an agreement between the United States and the ayatollah.

SPIEGEL: What was the essence of the agreement?

Tehrani: The United States would act to get the shah to relinquish power in Iran and allow the formation of a provisional government under Bazargan. In return, Khomeyni committed himself not to attack U.S. military, economic, and political interests in Iran.

Actually, the U.S. presence in Iran at the time was of secondary importance for Khomeyni. When he returned to Tehran, he told me he was unhappy about the anti-American campaign launched by Beheshti, Rafsanjani, and his son Ahmad. They not only wanted to abolish tyranny in Iran, but also defeat imperialism. In their Friday prayers, they assailed the Bazargan government because it had not "sent all U.S. experts to hell."

SPIEGEL: How did the radicals get Khomeyni to side with them?

Tehrani: Beheshti, Rafsanjani, and the satan Ahmad suggested to Khomeyni: "Do not believe that the shah is sick and has only gone to the United States for medical treatment. The tricky U.S. imperialists removed the shah from office only temporarily and will soon bring him back to power in Iran." At that time revolts broke out in Kurdistan and Turkistan, and the three said to Khomeyni: "This unrest is a precursor of the return of the shah with the help of the Americans."

They suggested to Khomeyni that he should test the Americans' sincerity by demanding the extradition of the shah.

SPIEGEL: The Americans rejected that.

Tehrani: It was impossible for Washington to extradite a sick man. From then on, Khomeyni refused to come to an understanding with the Americans because he deeply hated the shah, but he was also afraid of him. He was prepared to do anything to eliminate him. Beheshti, Rafsanjani, and Ahmad Khomeyni now convinced the ayatollah that the U.S. Embassy should be occupied and the Americans taken hostages. Only in this way, they said, could the Americans be prevented from putting the shah back on the throne.

SPIEGEL: Up until now, the occupation of the embassy was said to have been an action by Islamic fanatics among the students in Tehran.

Tehrani: No, prior to the occupation, several students came to me--they were my students, but convinced followers of Khomeyni--and said: "We have been given orders, which come from Khomeyni personally, to occupy the U.S. Embassy." I told them at the time: "This is not in our interests. I find this plan absurd and pointless. It will destroy the reputation of our revolution. In addition, it is not in accordance with the laws of the Koran."

SPIEGEL: You were not successful, were you?

Tehrani: No, the entire hostage affair was directed by Dr Peyman (who is a dentist and chairman of the militant Muslim committee in Tehran) and Khomeyni's son, Ahmad, who does nothing without his father's consent.

SPIEGEL: Meanwhile, quite intensive business relations have resumed between Khomeyni's Iran and the United States.

Tehrani: A large part of the food comes from the United States. Almost everything that our army currently needs in our war against Iraq is made in the United States. Trade representatives and agents all over the world make a lot of money by buying U.S. products for Iran. They buy almost everything we order. Khomeyni's policy has isolated Iran to such a degree that the country today depends much more on the United States economically than it did during the time of the shah's rule.

SPIEGEL: By contrast, Khomeyni's relationship with Moscow is worse than ever.

Tehrani: Not at all. Through the communist Tudeh Party, the Soviet Union helped Khomeyni overthrow the shah. The Tudeh people played a significant role in preparing the plans to overthrow the shah. I know from my wife, the sister of ayatollah Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, the current president, that the head of the Tudeh Party went to the Khamene'i family house two or three times every week for talks. We called Tudeh leader Kianuri 'Ayatollah Kianuri,' even though he was a communist and anything but an ayatollah.

Following the shah's overthrow, this cooperation continued initially. For some time the Tudeh Party was a kind of iron fist for Khomeyni and his clique of mullahs. It helped suppress the other parties, persecute politicians, and even assassinate Islamic socialist-leftist radicals.

SPIEGEL: Did relations between Khomeyni and Moscow first begin deteriorating after the outbreak of the war between Iraq and Iran?

Tehrani: Not immediately. As long as Iraqi troops were on Iranian soil, the Soviet Union refused to supply Iraq with any more weapons. The Soviets only resumed arms supplies after Iraqi troops no longer held Iranian territory. Khomeyni demanded that the Soviet Union cease supplying weapons to Baghdad completely. That was not all. Khomeyni demanded that the Soviet leadership help him topple Saddam Hussayn of Iraq in the same way they had once helped him overthrow the shah of Iran.

Of course, the Russians rejected this demand, and ever since then relations between Tehran and Moscow have been deteriorating to an increasing degree. Relations reached an all-time low at the time Khomeyni's clique of mullahs began liquidating the Tudeh Party. In the meantime, the Soviet Union is viewed as a "big satan." Nevertheless, it continues to allow Iran to ship some of its imports through Soviet territory.

SPIEGEL: Khomeyni's mullahs claim that they are aiding the Afghan resistance in its struggle against the Soviet occupying forces. Is this accurate?

Tehrani: Khomeyni is lying when he makes this claim. On the contrary, he has handed over some of the leaders of the liberation forces to the regime in Kabul and is playing the Afghan resistance movements off against each other.

SPIEGEL: Was it hard for you to break with Khomeyni?

Tehrani: The Koran says that if your father is wrong you must break with him. Why, therefore, should I not break with Khomeyni? My break with Khomeyni did not happen overnight. When so many terrible things happened after his return from exile--I believed for months that this was all Beheshti's doing. I had an audience about this with Khomeyni, and in my articles and sermons, I advocated the freedom of public opinion and opposed the suppression of those who held differing views.

I was imprisoned temporarily because of an open letter I wrote to Khomeyni--a letter that in the meantime has become famous. I wrote to Khomeyni: "The revolution will fail because you are obsessed with power."

SPIEGEL: Can you tell us how you got to Baghdad?

Tehrani: I do not want to say anything about that.

SPIEGEL: Is your family still in Tehran?

Tehrani: Yes, my wife is, as I have already told you, President Ayatollah Khamene'i's sister. I was 35 years old when we married. We have five children--two daughters and three sons. The eldest son is 22 years old. The youngest son is 3 1/2 years old. His name is Ehsan. I love him very much and am attached to him more than to any of the others because he is still so small.

SPIEGEL: Are you in touch with your relatives?

Tehrani: Yes, I was able to telephone my family. My small son told me that he did not just want to hear the voice of his father on the telephone--he wanted to see him too.

SPIEGEL: Many of the opponents of the mullah regime who had sought refuge abroad have been murdered. Are you afraid of Khomeyni taking revenge?

Tehrani: I fear only Allah.

SPIEGEL: Ayatollah Tehrani, thank you very much for this interview.

CSO: 4620/2

MINISTER STRESSES RULE OF CONDUCT FOR OFFICIALS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 27 May 84 p 21

[Text] The second seminar of the commanders of the Islamic revolution committees throughout the country opened yesterday in the presence of Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri, the minister of the interior.

In the first session of this seminar, which began yesterday morning, the representative of the imam to the Police Department of the Islamic Republic; Hojjat ol-Eslam Fallahian, the deputy director of the revolution committees; Colonel Samimi, the chief of police; and the directors of various units of the central headquarters of the Islamic revolution committees were present.

In a speech during this session, Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri, the minister of the interior, praised the round-the-clock efforts of the members of the revolution committees to provide security in the country and expressed satisfaction in regards to the recent progress of the revolution committees.

Referring to the valuable service of the clergy to the revolution committees, he said: We owe the preservation of the spirit of the revolution and the Islamic safeguards of the committees to the active presence of the clergy in all aspects of the revolution committees.

The minister of the interior pointed to the rightful expectation of the revolutionary people of our country concerning the revolution committees and asked the guards of the revolution committees to propagate Islamic values by observing correct Islamic rules of conduct in their relations with the people.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri pointed to the necessity of humility in dealing with the people and, addressing the personnel of the revolution committee, he emphasized: If you are unable to govern the hearts of the people with your behavior, certainly your behavior would not please God.

Describing examples of the conduct of the imam of the nation regarding issues and problems, the minister of the interior said: The humility and kindness of the imam in his conduct with the people and his decisiveness against tyranny and injustice and their implementors must be a model and a guide for the conduct of all of us.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri emphasized: The people cannot tolerate arrogance and pride in any of the authorities of the Islamic Republic, especially if the authorities are propagators of Islamic revolutionary values. Hence, all individuals who in some way serve the people in the Islamic Republic of Iran must monitor their behavior.

Continuing his statements, the minister of the interior pointed to the conspiracies of global oppression to threaten the security of the Persian Gulf and addressing the heads of the neighboring countries, he said: Our combatants will, by the grace of God, victoriously put an end to the war and the fire ignited by the oppressor and its agents in the region. However, those who witness the cries of the oppressor against the oppressed people of Iran and keep silent must know that the people of Iran will not forgive them. In concluding his statements, the minister of the interior emphasized the need to preserve unity and the need for organization, order and planning between the armed forces and law enforcement, and asked them to preserve this unity in practice for the sake of the common motivation which they have of serving the people.

This report indicates that in the beginning of this session, Hojjat ol-Eslam Fallahian, the deputy director of the revolution committees, explained the meaning of the terms personal and social piety.

All expertise will be valuable in the committees along with piety and everything will be evaluated through piety.

The deputy director of the revolution committees said: During the period 21 March 1984-20 March 1985, with precise planning and supervision over the activities of the committees throughout the country, we guarantee their fruitful action.

He stressed: The committees abound with talented, enthusiastic, and very competent forces, which must be identified and given appropriate responsibilities in accordance with their abilities.

Based on this report, in this seminar, with the establishment of related committees, twice in the morning and afternoon, discussions were held on the new organizations of the committees, the role of the command, the need for coordination with the organizations and the characteristics of and mission conferred upon the Guards Corps brothers.

MUSAVI: OUR BANKS OVERSEAS SHOULD EXPORT REVOLUTION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 22 May 84 p 3

[Text] Yesterday morning, a group of the heads of the foreign branches of the banks of the Islamic Republic of Iran met with Engineer Mir Hoseyn Musavi.

In this meeting, the prime minister addressed them emphasizing the importance of the law to abolish usury and the grave responsibility of the employees of the foreign branches of the banks in implementing it and said: Within the country, affairs follow an Islamic value system and the value system of the society helps the individual to carry out his responsibilities in regards to the general movement of the society and the Islamic values which are supported by the society. But, on the contrary, outside the country, every step that an individual takes as a representative of the Islamic Republic is an act contrary to the normal course of a river.

Engineer Musavi then pointed out the dangers of acculturation for Third World countries and its consequences and emphasized the importance of the role of the Islamic revolution in bringing Iran out of the spectrum of cultural dependence on the superpowers.

Then, addressing the employees of the foreign branches of the banks, he pointed out: The self confidence that the Islamic revolution has created among our people and the breaking of the chains of cultural dependence from the arms and legs of the people is one of the most important fruits of the Islamic revolution. It is a more difficult task to break these chains abroad. It is important for you the brothers who work abroad to try to preserve your emotional ties with the environment within the country, especially with the oppressed people of the Islamic society, because by understanding the miracles of the revolution in regards to independence, awareness and alertness and by setting the Islamic society in motion, you can take steps more easily in your missions to Islamicize the work environment and

influence and create constructive relations with the customers with whom you deal.

The prime minister emphasized: Through such attention, each one of the branches of our banks abroad can be centers for exporting revolution, of moral reaction to the environment, and for bringing the people of the world closer to the revolution and the Islamic Republic.

In another part of his speech, Engineer Musavi pointed to the reasons for the delay in the implementation of the interest-free banking law and added: Despite the fact that a number of people create difficulties in the implementation of Islamic laws, through perseverance and care, our brothers have succeeded in devising this law and today, we are certain that the implementation of the new system will deeply affect our country. On the other hand, eliminating the false supposition in the minds of the officials and authorities of the Islamic countries who consider the implementation of Islamic law impossible or in vain will have deep consequences. For this reason, one of the strongest tools that we have at our disposal for breaking the chains of acculturation from the West in the Islamic world is the transfer to the Islamic world of our experiences in the area of Islamic banking.

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CSO: 4640/252

DEPUTY MINISTER DISCUSSES SHORTAGE, IMPORT OF DRUGS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 22 May 84 p 3

[Interview with Dr Gholam Hoseyn Niknezhad, deputy minister for drugs of the Ministry of Health, by KEYHAN; date and place not specified]

[Text] In an interview with our KEYHAN correspondent, Dr Gholam Hoseyn Niknezhad, the deputy minister for drugs of the Ministry of Health, responded to questions concerning various pharmaceutical problems of the country, including the increased quality of drugs produced domestically, the reasons for the discrepancy in the prices of drugs, the level of domestic production of drugs, and the generic plan.

First, concerning the general situation of the pharmaceutical industry in Iran, he said:

Before the victory of the revolution, the pharmaceutical industries came under the supervision of the multinational pharmaceutical factories and to support their investments, which had brought imported pharmaceutical technology to our country, the factories in the private sector worked with Iranian investments. Of course, the quality of many of these pharmaceutical products could by no means be approved by the Ministry of Health; in any case, they brought their own products to the market. After the victory of the Islamic revolution and with the ratification of the Revolution Council, all the multinational pharmaceutical industries came under government control. According to the studies carried out, concerning the production situation of the domestic drug producing factories, about 20-23 percent were managed by the Darupakhsh Company, 7 percent by private sector factories, and 70 percent by national industries.

Considering the new pharmaceutical system of the country and the establishment of a generic system, these factories produce and import as much in the way of pharmaceutical products for marketing as their manpower resources permit.

Production in these factories is higher than that of all other factories and they have seen a production increase surpassing those of the periods 21 March 1977-20 March 1978 and 21 March 1978-20 March 1979. Hence, the efforts of the government in connection with the self-sufficiency plan have been directed towards producing drugs domestically as far as the technology and manpower will permit.

The deputy minister for drugs of the Ministry of Health said in response to the question of whether the quality of the imported and domestically produced drugs has changed over the past years: In the past, the quality of drugs was determined after those drugs which were produced domestically or imported from abroad were sampled and examined at random. Upon approval, these drugs would be marketed. Of course, some drugs which were not up to standard also entered the market.

After the victory of the revolution, considering that we wanted to establish a generic system to replace the commercial system, these companies began to disrupt our efforts and would not give us pharmaceutical products and raw materials. Consequently, we tried to purchase the raw materials and pharmaceutical products needed in the country from the international markets, such as Japan, Western Europe, or the Third World. Despite the many problems and obstacles before us, we succeeded in establishing a new generic system. Of course, 15-20 percent of the drugs, such as heart, capillary, and cancer drugs, will be marketed under their commercial names, because, firstly, the country does not need much of these drugs and the concerned factories will not agree to change the production line for the small level of production of these products and, secondly, we seriously need these drugs.

Also, concerning quality control over pharmaceutical products, Dr Gholam Hoseyn Niknezhad said: In order to raise the quality of drugs, either through the pharmaceutical control laboratory, which is part of the drug manufacturing factories, or through the food and drug control laboratory of the Ministry of Health, or through the research center for scientific pharmaceutical and pharmaceutical plants, which is affiliated with the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Health will supervise the production and raising of the quality of drugs and we hope that we will be able to take more steps in this regard in the near future.

Then, concerning the shortage of some pharmaceutical items, he added: There are pharmaceutical shortages for several reasons.

The first reason is in connection with drugs which are prescribed by their commercial names and since, except for a small percentage of the drugs, the government is not responsible in regards to their commercial names, we ask the physicians to prescribe the drugs using their generic names and as much as needed.

Another problem which contributes to shortages and false consumption of drugs is "self treatment." Some individuals use a particular drug without having it prescribed by a physician because one of their neighbors has used that drug and has recovered. Of course, those drugs which can be purchased in the pharmacies by prescription have been determined by the Ministry of Health and we ask the pharmacies not to put such items at the disposal of individuals without a prescription from a physician, except for drugs which are prescribed to be renewed.

He also said: At the present time, the general office of drugs has obtained the figures concerning the drugs needed in the country and the level of production resources of the domestic factories and has also determined the volume of imported drugs. As existing spot shortages are reported to the Ministry of Health by the inspectors of the general supervision office and the experts of the office for central organizations and through production and distribution companies or the importing companies, we will try to eliminate the shortages of pharmaceutical products.

He added: Of course, there is a shortage of drugs but we will try to reduce it.

The treatment deputy of the Ministry of Health also said in regards to the discrepancy in drug prices:

In the commercial system of the past, since the production of drugs cost more than the price of imported drugs and was marketed at a higher price, the domestic pharmaceutical factories were not very active in producing drugs and they were unable to produce more than 30-40 percent of the items for which they obtained permits because essentially the consumer could buy imported drugs at prices lower than those of drugs produced domestically.

But, after the revolution, since we wanted to be independent in terms of drugs and to replace the previous commercial system with a generic system, in an attempt to cause disruptions, the multinational companies raised the prices of the raw materials which they gave us, which caused the relative increase in the price of drugs. Of course, as the central bank has announced the price indicators, the prices of drugs have not changed compared to those of the period 21 March 1978-20 March 1979. The discrepancy in the price of drugs is due to the difference of

drugs in the generic and commercial systems, and since no drugs have been imported since the period 21 March 1983-20 March 1984, except for the 15-20 percent which enter the market under commercial names, this discrepancy in prices will gradually be eliminated.

In response to the question of what stage the generic plan is in at the present time, he said:

At the present time, those drugs which are produced in the domestic pharmaceutical factories have generic names. Of course, a limited number of drugs for which our pharmaceutical factories have the raw materials and the packaging materials are permitted, under the supervision of the exports of the general office of drugs, to be marketed with their commercial names and once the raw materials are finished, we will no longer have commercial drugs. Of course, in connection with imports, such is not the case, because our goal in the next two or three years is for 80 percent of our pharmaceutical imports to have generic names.

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CSO: 4640/252

TEHRAN-DAMASCUS TRANSPORT AGREEMENT SIGNED

Tehran KAYHAN AIRMAIL EDITION in Persian 16 May 84 p 7

[Interview with minister of roads and transport by IRNA; date and place not specified]

[Text] The minister of roads and transport of our country, who traveled to Syria at the head of a delegation at the invitation of the minister of transport of that country, returned to Tehran. In an exclusive interview with IRNA concerning the results of his visit to Syria, he said: Among the most important issues discussed between the two countries during this visit was the subject of road transport between the two countries, which resulted in the signing of the international road transport agreement between the two countries. He added: In the course of this visit, decisions were also made in regards to problems existing in passenger air transportation.

The minister of roads and transport of our country referred to the creation of proper facilities for the Iranian pilgrims to Syria and said: The Syrian authorities promised to provide more comfortable facilities for the Iranian pilgrims. Also, it was decided that a special terminal would be assigned to Iranian pilgrims at the Damascus Airport. He added: Syria was requested to assign a special air corridor in Syrian air space for the airplanes of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which would reduce the flight time between Tehran and Damascus. The minister of roads and transport referred to the trips of Iranian passengers and pilgrims to Syria and said: During the negotiations which took place between the Tehran authorities and the passenger transportation authorities of that country, we reached some agreements in regards to creating organized bus services for the transportation of passengers of Iran and Syria and also for providing terminals. He added: In the meeting which took place with the minister of tourism of Syria, the problems of the Iranian pilgrims were noted and it was asked that steps be taken in regards to repairing the road from Damascus to Zeynabiyyeh and also in building up the area and expanding and repairing the tomb of her holiness Roqiyyeh. The minister of roads and transport,

referring to his visit to the two ports of Tartus and Latakia, said: In the course of these visits, the Syrian authorities asked Iran to use these ports and promised that they would collect customs duties and taxes on Iranian goods at an appropriate rate. It was explained to them that the policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran dictates that the import of goods to the country be regulated in a manner which does not require the use of foreign ports. Nevertheless, if for any reason there is a need in this case, considering the friendly relations between the two countries, these facilities will be used.

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CSO: 4640/251

TEHRAN-DAMASCUS HIGHWAY TO START OPERATION

Tehran KAYHAN AIRMAIL EDITION in Persian 23 May 84 p 17

[Text] Soon, with the negotiations and signing of contracts between the passenger carrying cooperative companies which meet the requirements of our country and one selected and accredited Syrian passenger carrying company, the Tehran-Damascus highway will start operation to transport Iranian pilgrims to the holy places in Syria.

Mohsen Tabibzadeh, the director general of the organization for terminals, who traveled to Syria with a delegation headed by the minister of roads and transport in order to increase and improve the transportation lines for Iranian pilgrims to that country, said in an interview with the correspondent of IRNA: In this visit, establishing three committees on ground, sea and air transportation, the Iranian delegation negotiated with the Syrian authorities. After the necessary investigations, both sides took steps to exchange a note of agreement. The most important topics in this note concerning the ground transportation of passengers are as follows.

Cooperation agreement between the passenger cooperative companies of the two countries for creating organized passenger carrying programs, opening active offices affiliated with the passenger carrying companies of the two countries, authorizing the passenger companies of the two countries to sell tickets and handle other related affairs, providing the necessary services and information for passengers, drivers, and employees, providing services for the passenger carrying buses of the two countries, and, finally, providing equipped terminals for buses to transport passengers to the city of Damascus.

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CSO: 4640/251

BRIEFS

ARREST OF KHOMEYNI AGENTS--Six of Khomeyni's terrorists dispatched to London were arrested by the British police. In its newscast yesterday, Amman Radio reported that these six persons intended to assassinate the Khomeyni regime's opponents in London. Some arms, forged passports and a list of those who had been marked for murder were seized by the police. The BBC, which follows Margaret Thatcher's policy of supporting the Khomeyni regime, has refrained from broadcasting this news item. [Text] [GF120746 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1500 GMT 11 May 84]

CSO: 4640/256

FORMER MINISTER WRITES 'OPEN LETTER TO VICE PRESIDENT BUSH'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 May 84 pp 4, 5

[Article by Dr Mubashir Hasan: "Open Letter to Vice President Bush"]

[Text] Honourable George Bush
Vice President of the United States of America

Dear Mr. Bush,

Like you, an impeccable Vice President of the United States visited Pakistan thirty years ago. He made a name for himself for his grasp of the geo-strategic problems of this part of the world. May we hope that you are able to do the same. Like Mr. Richard Nixon, you may also be elected President of the United States, one day, and may do even better than he did in that high office.

The complexity and tenacity of the geo-political problems, we in Pakistan, face to day is rooted in our ancient history. We do not blame the peoples of different cultures, living thousands of miles away, for not fully appreciating the problems of this region. We do not even wish to complain today, for being punished today, for being punished yesterday, for our particular perceptions of these problems--perceptions proved by time to have been correctly held. Allow me to cite a few examples.

In 1947, the government of Afghanistan had protested to the British government against the latter's plan to create two separate states of India and Pakistan. Thus, Pakistan had a problem about its border, known as the Durand Line, even before the country had come into being. Today, almost all distinguished visitors from the U.S. pay a visit to this border and try to affirm their support for Pakistan's right and efforts to defend it. What our American friends need to be reminded of is that the United States came to recognise the Durand Line as a border only in 1956, that is sixty-three years after its determination. For nine years, the pleas of Pakistan to the United States to recognise the border fell on deaf ears.

Prediction?

The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, knew from the first day that in view of the developing world situation after World War II, the United States

shall have no place to turn to for help in South Asia except Pakistan. Within less than two months of its coming into being, our government hired Mr. Winthrop W. Aldrich, Chairman of the Chase National Bank to promote Pakistan's request for assistance from the U.S. to somewhat a high amount. Pakistan drew a complete blank. The U.S. was just not interested nor did it know.

It took Marshal Stalin to explode nuclear devices. Chairman Mao to liberate China, Premier Mossadeq to nationalize British oil interests in Iran, Colonel Nasser to demand the ouster of the British from Egypt and Secretary of State Acheson to describe Prime Minister Nehru as "one of the most difficult men with whom I have ever had to deal"--all that and more--for the U.S. to make a few substantial friendly gestures to Pakistan. Said Mr. Ghulam Muhammad, the Governor-General, the most friendly among our heads of state towards the U.S. to the famous correspondent of the New York Times, Mr. C. L. Sulzberger: "You take five years to think about a problem and then three years to act....you are always too late.... You are going to lose many things. You are going to link us up in the mess too...."

Role of U.S.

A few years later the U.S. was very annoyed with Pakistan as we developed our links with China, a perfectly harmless relationship in terms of U.S. interests. Some years later, in cloak and dagger secrecy, in the still dark hours of an Islamabad morning, Mr. Henry Kissinger left for Beijing on his epoch making trip in a Pakistan airliner. We were happy to render the service in the interests of the world peace.

The U.S. was very very annoyed with Pakistan as we struggled to improve our relationship with the Soviet Union and signed on an oil exploration agreement in 1961. It was at a time when the U.S. itself wanted to end the cold war and usher in the detente'. What did the U.S. do six years later? It served its "most allied ally", Pakistan, to the Soviet Union's table at Tashkent. In handing over the task of mediation between Pakistan and India to Prime Minister Kosygin, President Johnson is reported to have described the two countries as two dogs biting the legs of the United States.

The aforementioned list is not exhaustive but may suffice to show that, the U.S. ultimately came round to the point of view held by Pakistan.

There have been other problems too. What has been the role of the United States when Pakistan found itself in its life and death struggles. During the Kashmir war, Pakistan had absolutely nothing to fight a war with. This can be verified from the reports, now published, sent by the U.S. Military Attache in Karachi, Col. Nathaniel Hoskot. In such a critical situation the United States swiftly clamped an embargo on the sale and shipment of military supplies to Pakistan.

By 1965, Pakistan had four politico-military agreements with the United States. Pakistan had also secured from the U.S. although not without difficulty, assurances that if Pakistan were attacked by India the U.S. would come to Pakistan's help.

The Indian forces invaded Pakistan across the international border, on 6th September 1965. President Ayub Khan summoned the U.S. ambassador to Pakistan and asked what help would the U.S. offer to Pakistan at this critical hour. The prompt reply given by the ambassador was eloquent enough. Said the U.S. ambassador "The Indians have got you by the throat. Haven't they, Mr. President?"

Broken Promise

As for the role of the U.S. in the 1971 war which resulted in East Pakistan becoming Bangladesh, you might like to hear the version of a fellow Texan, former secretary U.S. Treasury John Connally. In early 1972, Mr. Connally visited India and Pakistan. In New Delhi, he called on the Indian Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi who complained to him about the United State's attitude during the war, which she alleged was favourable to Pakistan. The former U.S. secretary told this writer in Islamabad that he told the Indian Prime Minister in reply that if anyone should have a cause to complain it should be Pakistan. It was the United States that made India's victory possible. "If we had not stopped our arms shipments" said Mr. Connally to Mrs. Gandhi "you would not have been able to defeat Pakistan."

The lever of supplying or not supplying arms to Pakistan has been freely used by the United States for furthering political ends detrimental to the interests of Pakistan. Some of the U.S. actions on this account still baffle Pakistanis.

In early 1950, apparently to create an atmosphere of cordiality at the time of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's impending visit to the U.S., a few months later, the sale of a few arms (with a promise of more later) was negotiated with Pakistan. But the confidential "country statement" prepared by the State Department for the fiscal 1951 stated ".....only token assistance is proposed. We shall provide replacement parts for u.S. equipment of Lend-Lease origin,... Pakistan has been desperately and unsuccessfully seeking these parts from us since 1947.... The purpose of military assistance to Pakistan at this time is to achieve a psychological effect...."

While the Prime Minister Liaquat Ali was still in the United States, the State Department instructed Pentagon on May 26, 1950 to stop further action on the proposed sale. Among others, one bewildering reason given for this sudden order was stated by John H. Ohly, Deputy Director of the State Department's Mutual Defence Assistance Programme in the following words "Apart from such considerations, the political situation vis-a-vis Pakistan does not permit the Department at this time to take affirmative action on the Pakistan request."

The U.S. took full thirteen years to supply to Pakistan in a substantial measure the arms it had requested in 1947 and many Go-Stop-Go-Stop signals intervened in between.

As preconditions of fulfilling its obligations of friendship, the U.S. has sometimes made preposterous demands. President Johnson thumped his table as he uttered each word "Bhutto...must...go", demanding from President Ayub Khan

the dismissal of his illustrious foreign minister. And when Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was our Prime Minister and the U.S. was challenging Pakistan's nuclear programme, the U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger warned the Pakistan Foreign Minister Aziz Ahmad "We shall make a horrible example of you". According to a reliable American account Kissinger said to Mr. Aziz Ahmad on that or perhaps on another occasion: "If you don't conclude an agreement with us (the Republicans) the Democrats will run a freight train over you".

Wondering Aloud

One wonders how you are treating the present Pakistani regime. It is no admirer of mine and I wish it would hold free and impartial elections and introduce a representative government. But I am worried for Pakistan and to some extent for the U.S. too. Pakistan is my country and my higher education has been in the United States.

True that during the last thirty-seven years the rulers of Pakistan have been no angels. I am sure that you may have some legitimate grievances against them. But you tell the people of Pakistan no bad thing about its rulers especially the bad ones. The U.S. government, through legal action and leaks manages to inform the Americans bad things only about American public men and even on their private lives. The trouble is that by condoning the unholy deeds of our rulers, say in the realm of human rights, or about questions mentioned in international conventions or charters, you render aid and comfort to them for reasons, among others, of internal security.

Indeed the U.S. is excessively concerned about the question of internal security in many Third World nations. Internal security has become an euphemism for the security of unpopular and unworthy rulers. For the peoples of the Third World it is a matter of great anguish that the U.S. grants almost automatic recognition to coup-d'etat leaders that keep cropping up in Asia or Africa. This policy sharply contrasts with the policy of delaying by a decade or more the recognition of such governments of genuine revolutions as those of the U.S.S.R. and China.

Edmund Burke, famous for his essay On Conciliation with America once said "You can never plan the future by the past". His formula is generally applicable to the region of South and South west Asia but especially to Pakistan today which is beset by grave problems. The principal ones among them are our relations with our neighbours--India, China, Afghanistan and Iran. The Soviet Union is in Afghanistan. The U.S. has presence in the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean, so has the Soviet Union. The war situation on the Iraq-Iran border also casts a long shadow over our relations with the regional and super-powers.

Judging from what appears in print in western media and from the talks we have with the American experts who visit Pakistan, I believe that we have a better grasp of the problems of this region than you have.

Afghan Issue

Take the case of Afghanistan. The Soviet Union had come into being in 1917. By 1922 the communist state was well established. Britain and the United States had fifty-six years to develop the economy and politics of the brave peoples inhabiting Afghanistan. You did nothing of the sort. Indeed, the area, once called Tajikistan became the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic bordering Afghanistan as late as 1929. No one lifted a finger. Perhaps rightly so. Members of the previous government of Pakistan learnt informally from U.S. officials that Afghanistan lay in the zone of Soviet influence. Now for the last few years the western world wants to achieve through weapons and propaganda what it neglected for over half a century. All agree that confronted with the might of the Soviet Union the task is unattainable through the devices of weapons and propaganda.

Let us not perpetrate wars between Afghans and Pakistanis on the one hand and among the Afghans on the other. The methods of war should give way to the method of peace. Let there be free trade and commerce between the two countries. Allow us to export textiles, cement, fertilizer, electrical goods, iron and steel, edible oils, food grains and a hundred other items to Afghanistan; import iron ore, gas, fruit and other products from Afghanistan. I am sure you do not know that Afghanistan is the only country in the world with which our currency is freely convertible. What greater proof than this is required for the overlap in our economies. We are also the seaport of Afghanistan. Now this strategic base of commercial and financial intercourse is being eroded. The more we cut ourselves off from Afghanistan today the more we make us dependent on the Soviet Union--indeed a great loss to us.

Pakistan's differences with Afghanistan are not of a nature that will take that country nearer to the Soviet Union. So allow us to settle our own disputes. Unfortunately the differences the United States and the Soviet Union have among themselves have become the principal cause of instability in Afghanistan and Pakistan--instability also harmful to the cause of both the superpowers and the world. Pakistan and Afghanistan continue to offer singular cooperation to the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., respectively. When you were negotiating Sait II with the U.S.S.R. we had no problems in holding discussions with the Afghans. Then as the new Republican Administration refused talking with the Soviet Union, so did we to each other. At the end of 1982 as you resumed negotiations at Geneva, the Afghans and Pakistanis were also given green light for their own "Geneva". We did better at our talks than you and the Russians did at yours. Our talks succeeded and yours failed. Because you failed, therefore, the USSR holds back Afghanistan and you hold back Pakistan from ushering in an era of peace and nation building. It is a great pity. The superpowers seem to have no compassion for the miseries of the millions of refugees and the toll of fratricidal warfare. The debris of the superpower rivalry is destroying both the Afghan and the Pakistan nations.

Gulf War

Take the case of the Iraq-Iran war. You want us to take sides. We cannot do that. Since Pakistan came into being its policy has been to keep itself

scrupulously away from the interlarded difference of the Muslim countries. The problem is that the Arab and Iranian civilizations still mean more to us than the Roman and Greek civilizations mean to you. The western part of the Arabian Peninsula is holier to us today than Rome was to Europe before the Reformation. On the other hand the fundamentals of the Iranian culture are a part of our culture. We use Persian proverbs and sayings in our daily conversation as freely as we use those of our own languages.

In the realm of international politics Iran helped us in times of our acute needs. In the 1965 and 1971 wars Iran helped us as no one else did. Arab countries continued to help us even today. We cannot be ungrateful. We have to remain friendly with the Arab as well as the Iranian world.

Furthermore, no country can afford to have non-friends on all the sides of its land border. It is tantamount to national suicide. You don't really want to be taken seriously on your pressure that we tilt toward Iraq.

The question of military bases for the United States on the soil of Pakistan is also greatly agitating the minds of Pakistanis. The U.S. Assistant Secretary of State and Mr. Deane Hinton, your ambassador to Pakistan have categorically stated that the U.S. seeks no bases. So that is the position of the Department of the State. But surely that is not the position of the Department of Defence.

The reason behind Mr. Caspar Weinberger's quest are not without precedent. Apparently the Soviet Union has established or is in the process of establishing facilities to attack U.S. targets in the Indian Ocean or on or near the oil rich lands. You want bases in Pakistan in order to be able to operate against the new Soviet facilities.

We in Pakistan are inclined to look at this situation from a different angle. If you did not offer the Soviet Union in this part of the world targets worth attacking, the Soviet Union shall have nothing to attack. If the U.S. and its allies were to remove their naval armadas and bases, the Soviet facilities will be rendered useless. You would not need bases in Pakistan. That is why the proposition to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace is such a sensible one.

Should the U.S. be preparing to meet a Soviet land attack, then our part of the world is not a suitable place. Should it come to fighting then please fight the Soviet Union where you are strongest--in Europe.

In any case should the U.S. be bent upon securing base facilities to protect the oil fields and oil routes, then the bases should be got from those who own the oil. That Pakistan should offer a piece of its territory to protect what does not belong to it is not a fair proposal.

It is a matter of great concern to us that on important questions such as those discussed earlier the point of view of many a Pakistani differs widely from that of the United States. The U.S. considers that the compulsions of the international situation require its increased presence in the region. We believe otherwise for two reasons.

Reduced Presence

In the particular case of Pakistan, the reduced presence of the United States will help us improve our relations with India, a development you have always said you would welcome. Our relations with Kabul would also improve and simultaneously the Soviet pressure on Afghanistan would relent, Afghan nationalism would have a real chance to show its head.

For the region, the reduced presence of the United States will help ease tensions in general. Extraneous issues having been set aside, way will open for the resolution of the basic issues of each nation and sets of nations. Just, egalitarian and nationalist governments will have a chance to emerge and they will surely be better able to take care of any extra-regional threat.

The question of bases is thus a part of the larger question of your defence policies and posture. It is natural that on questions of this nature there may exist different points of view in your government. Most Pakistani's feel that the State Department is right. I think it lies with you now to recommend to President Reagan to over-rule the Pentagon's proposal of seeking military bases in Pakistan.

Finally, the nuclear question. Last week in a speech delivered at the Federation of Pakistan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Ambassador Hinto recommended a course for Pakistan with which one can agree in principle. Personally I believe that what should never be used should never be made. But the issue has got connected with so many other issues. One can hope that it would not prove so intractable in future as it has been in the past provided we are on our way to solving issues more vital and urgent to us.

What I would like to stress on a man of understanding, also an aspirant of occupying the White House on the Pennsylvania Avenue is that in the Third World of today, it is not capitalism, communism or any religion that is the dominant political force. That kind of force is nationalism—a nationalism that promises to fight the intruder, local or foreign and helps the oppressed.

Right or wrong, the remaining years of this century and much of the next century is going to occupy itself by helping or combating this kind of nationalism. My guess is that those who help will be remembered longer and kindlier by history than those who combat. Hope you have a pleasant stay in Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/577

U.S. CALLED UNRELIABLE, URGED TO END INTERFERENCE

Karachi AMN in Urdu 2 Apr 84 p 2

/Article by Jumma Khan: "The United States Should Not Interfere in the Internal Affairs of Pakistan"/

/Text/ The Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate has demanded that civil liberties be restored in Pakistan and that elections be held on an impartial and equitable basis in which all candidates and political parties would be able to participate freely. The Committee also recommended that certain conditions be imposed on military and financial aid to Pakistan.

Judging from these demands by U.S. leaders, it appears that they might be under the impression that Pakistan is a colony, and hence, they believe that Pakistan regards them not as good friends but as masters. If they are laboring under this misapprehension, they should count the stars, representing each of the states, in their national flag. They would see that no star has been added lately to represent Pakistan, nor will such a star ever be added as long as a single honorable Pakistani remains alive. There was a time when modern transport and communication facilities did not exist, and important messages had to be sent from one place to another by means of messengers riding horses or camels. Similarly, commercial caravans traveled from one country to another by animal or by boat.

Owing to advances in the field of communications in the 20th century, important events occurring on land, sea, in the air or in space are instantaneously communicated from one end of the earth to the other. A boxing match in the United States or a cricket match being played in Britain can be watched live on television by people sitting in their homes. The space satellites of superpowers such as the United States can detect minerals in any country in the world and indicate the specific location and the nature of the minerals. The United States has radio, television, telephone, wireless, airplanes, ships, submarines, newspapers and all the other latest means of communication. The United States landed a man on the moon and the whole world watched on television as he landed on the moon.

The leaders of the Senate of the United States, which possesses the most sophisticated means of communications, have demanded that civil liberties be restored in Pakistan and that equitable and impartial elections be held with the free participation of all candidates and political parties. It appears from this demand that after many years, the Americans have learned about conditions in Pakistan; perhaps a latter-day Columbus visited Pakistan and returned home to tell stories about Pakistan or perhaps after remaining intoxicated for 5 or 6 years from a narcotic such as heroin, politicians in the United States have finally come to their senses.

If the U.S. leaders have such a consuming interest in civil liberties, elections and political parties, they should first tell us whether there are civil liberties in South Korea, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia and dozens of other countries? Have impartial and equitable elections been held there? Are political parties active and democratic governments in office? If the answer is in the negative, then why is it that the Americans could find only Pakistan on the world map to which to address their demands? Has their eyesight grown weak or do they need stronger glasses?

The demands of the U.S. Senate are surprising for another reason: on 12 August, General Zia announced the political structure of the Federal Council and made a definite promise that all stages for general elections would be completed by 23 March 1985, General Zia and his ministers have repealed this announcement several times. If it had not been announced that regardless of the circumstances, elections would be held by 23 March 1985, at least one could understand why American politicians might suddenly be seized with uneasiness; but the manner in which the hue and cry has been raised even though a date has been set for the elections shows clearly that the real truth is something else and it is not just that something is rotten; everything is rotten.

The whole world knows that in order to safeguard its oil interests, the United States has made special military arrangements for the rapid deployment of its forces anywhere from Pakistan to Egypt. The United States had asked various countries, including Pakistan, for military facilities, but in the last few days, General Zia announced unequivocally that there are no military bases in Pakistan nor will any military bases be given to the United States. The U.S. Government understood from this announcement that it would not get the military facilities that it wanted from Pakistan; consequently the attitude of the U.S. Government changed, and in order to punish Pakistan, it had certain senators voice demands regarding elections, democracy and civil liberties. This is in fact an awkward attempt to blackmail Pakistan and put pressure on it.

The refusal of the Pakistani Government to give military bases to the United States is not the decision of the present ruling authorities alone but also that of the entire Pakistani nation. The former government as well acted on the basis of this national wish. The basic reasons for this decision are as follows:

1. In the past, the United States has never come to Pakistan's aid in time of trouble.
2. Pakistan has ended military pacts and joined the nonaligned movement, which does not allow its member countries to maintain foreign military bases on their territories.
3. The recent aggressive actions of U.S. troops in Lebanon against innocent Arabs have destroyed U.S. dignity in the Islamic world.
4. The inability of the United States to have Israeli-occupied Arab territories returned to Arab countries has forced all Muslim countries to look for more reliable friends. America's support for Israel has fully opened the eyes of the Muslim countries.

The people of Pakistan are totally opposed to giving the United States any kind of military bases or military facilities, hence, the Government of Pakistan cannot strike any kind of a deal in this regard with the United States. Our people want to maintain friendship with the United States as well as with other countries, they do not wish to harbor enmity toward anyone nor will they allow anyone to become their master, We need reliable and sincere friends who will openly stand by us in times of need. We do not need cunning masters who nurture international terrorism and who, in times of trouble, take unfair advantage of nuances in legitimate agreements and abandon us in midstream, who mock us, shut their eyes and tell us, "The division of your country into two pieces is a bitter pill that you will have to swallow, We cannot help you."

Today, the United States expresses sympathy for us and tries to make us believe that Russia is at our door and our safety is in danger and that we should take refuge with the United States and buy as many modern weapons as possible. At the same time, it is being said that India, which is a friend of Russia, has increased its pressure on Pakistan, and thus Pakistan should not neglect its defense. This is the kind of gun-boat diplomacy that will prevent us from making any progress toward peace and plunge us at any moment into the inferno of war. We are not afraid of war and we have fought wars, but we know what comes of war. We hate war because we know that both the victor and the vanquished get nothing out of it except ruin and destruction. Just as we consider our land sacred and will not allow it to become an arena for bloodshed, so we hold other lands sacred as well and will not allow them to be subjected to fire and bloodshed.

We know that wars can be won by force of arms, but we also know that wars can be avoided altogether through diplomacy and wisdom. American leaders are telling us that on one side India is increasing its pressure against Pakistan, and on the other side Russian planes are violating Pakistani air space. If this is indeed true, and Pakistan's safety is very dear to the United States, then I should like my four questions answered:

1. Has the United States increased Pakistan's military strength and put it on a par with India's? If not, and India enjoys a much greater military capability, what will be gained by raising a hue and cry?
2. Were these American champions sleeping when Russian armies entered Afghanistan? Why was that country left without a friend or ally and how is the cowardly stand taken that the Afghanistan problem could not be solved militarily explained?
3. When Pakistan was being cut in two and Indian troops had reached Dhaka, why was the United States not interested in Pakistan's safety and defense?
4. Why does the United States not guarantee that if India should attack Pakistan, the United States would be bound to come to Pakistan's aid?

Our past national experience has taught us that there is no more unreliable friend than the United States. In times of trial, we will have to depend on our own strength. As Muslims, we believe that when we need protection from our enemies, there is no greater protector than God. The Americans should keep their advice about politics, democracy and military matters to themselves. We cannot afford to make friends with them and antagonize other great powers. The Americans should kindly leave us alone and refrain from interfering in our internal affairs.

As the mouse said to the cat who promised him great things:

Thank you, madam cat, but I would rather stay in my present wretched condition.

9863

CSO: 4656/129

PROBE INTO ALLEGED MRD LINK WITH U.S. DEMANDED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 8 May 84 p 8

[Article by Aurangzeb]

[Text]

LAHORE, May 7: Begum Naseem Wali Khan, Vice President of NDP told 'The Muslim' today that she would like to raise an important question in the current meeting of the Central Committee of the MRD namely, whether the leader-

of putting an end to American interference.

It was pointed out to the Begum that there was an allegation that NDP had betrayed the MRD movement, firstly, in the very beginning when office-bearers of the party resigned instead of participating in the movement and later as a result of Abid Zuberi's letter. Begum Naseem reacted strongly to the word 'betrayed' and said that whatever was done by the Secretary General of the Party was obligatory under party discipline, and the situation was made to develop in such a way that there was no way out for him except to resign. She said that actually the confusion was caused when some component parties of MRD refused to boycott the local bodies elections. There was a stage when, on the one hand, they were taking part in the election and, on the other, were participating in the movement. She said this confusion was resolved only at the last moment.

She refuted the idea that NWFP did not fully participate in MRD movement. She said the fact was that till the last day the people of NWFP courted arrest.

Asked what would be the effe-

cts of this movement on the future politics of the country, she said that from the defunct NDP's point of view, the movement was a great breakthrough. Her party had a definite stand regarding autonomy for national federating units, but during the last 30 years it had been scolded and termed secessionist on this score. Now people and leaders had admitted the genuineness of this demand. She said that even the people of the Punjab had started considering seriously that autonomy for safeguarding the interests of the federating units was necessary.

Begum Wali Khan said that another major contribution of this movement was that it had created a sense of unity among the people of various provinces.

Replying to another question, Begum Naseem Khan said that she hardly saw any possibility of elections being held in Pakistan. She said that the President had imposed Martial Law on the understanding that he would act as a referee and hold elections within 90 days. But he had failed to keep his promise and confusion was increasing day by day.

CSO: 4600/576

COMMENTARY ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH U.S.

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 May 84 p 7

[Article by Jawid Bokhari in "Commerce Diary" column]

[Text] KARACHI: Though often not acknowledged, politics and economics are deeply linked together. This fact was once again brought into sharp focus when the US Ambassador, Deane R. Hinton addressed the FPCCI sponsored Pakistan and USA Trade and Industry Committee here last week.

Addressing a galaxy of leading industrialists, businessmen and traders, the US Ambassador spent much of his time explaining the state of political relationship between Pakistan and United States and the US strategic interest in the region but made only a passing reference to economic matters.

While the content of the speech was lauded, a feeling was voiced from the audience whether a business forum could be inflicted with a political speech. The questioner earned a prompt rebort from the US Ambassador. He remarked that he was surprised to meet a section of the business community, which was not interested in political issues affecting them. He said he was approached by his hosts to make a speech on a topic of his choice. And he felt that he should talk on a subject that would be of interest to the business community.

The country's private sector has always been involved in politics indirectly. It has financed political agitations to topple governments and also provided funds to government sponsored right-wing and conservative political parties. But, by and large, the community has kept aloof from active politics. It has confined its deep interest in political events to informal discussions and refrained from public debate of political issues.

Yet the community is neither neutral, silent or a passive spectators. Generally speaking, industry and business has prospered under official patronage and hence the business community thinks it cannot afford to assume public opposition to any government. The community is also averse to and has deep contempt for a democratic dispensation.

The US Ambassador's written speech did not deal with issues raised by the president of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry Saifullah Khan Paracha; The FPCCI President has referred to the chronic

adverse balance suffered by Pakistan in its trade with the United States and quota restrictions on Pakistani textile exports.

Replying to questions raised from the audience on these topics Deane R. Hinton observed that Pakistan's defence imports from the United States were financed by the American financial assistance in the form of grants and loans with low rate of interest. He said Pakistan could boost its exports to the United States by financing Washington's Defence Budget and economic development on a similar pattern. He also said political pressures specially from the labour prevented relaxation of quota restrictions. Though he was all in favour of free trade and free markets but the political realities could not be ignored. In his written speech Deane R. Hinton said the United States also participates in an "active and continuing international dialogue aimed at inducing and supporting more effective economic policies, to the end that scarce foreign exchange as well as domestic resources will produce maximum growth and promote social justice".

He said, this dialogue focuses on such questions as efficient management of the growing assistance pipeline, self-help measures to stimulate increased savings and investment from domestic Pakistani resources, more appropriate pricing policies, particularly in the energy sector and the proper timing of moves to free trade, industrial deregulation and liberalisation of investment policies, as well as a general trust to open the economy to a larger role for the private sector, private initiative and the constructive role of market forces.

The US Ambassador also voiced what he described the concern of the world community on the fact that rapid population growth in Pakistan, if unchecked, could absorb all available resources with no discernable improvement in per capita education, health and living standards.

He added, your government has proclaimed its adherence to these sound objectives. Still, tactical differences over how to achieve them provide much grist to the mill of discussions between, on the one hand, those foreigners interested in Pakistan's advance to self-sustaining growth and improvement in the quality of life, and on decisions as how to get there.

Asked by a questioner on the prospect of joint ventures between Pakistani and American entrepreneurs in view of not too encouraging results of the efforts made in this direction, he said delay in announcement of industrial investment schedule, deregulation measures etc. affected the enthusiasm of the foreign investors.

The President of the Federation of Pakistan Chambers of Commerce and Industry Saifullah Khan Paracha, however expressed his "satisfaction" that the US private sector was now showing interest in setting up industries in Pakistan and in transfer of technology as is evidenced by the success of OPIC sponsored investors mission.

Quoting a USIS Press release, the FPCCI chief said joint projects were making satisfactory headway in the field of phosphate fertiliser, poultry development,

seed development, manufacture of amorphous silicone, photo voltaic panels based on solar energy, micro-biat-based plant growth stimulant products, hoteliering, production of anemia, diagnostic kits, digital equipment factory, tin-plate manufacturing and manufacture of compressors.

These projects are likely to bring in an investment of around Rs. 353 million dollars and provide job opportunities to 2,000 technicians and workers.

Mr. Saifullah Khan Paracha observed that these projects included transfer of technology in less sophisticated areas. He was confident that US investors would gradually enter into joint ventures into the fields of more sophisticated technology.

To quote te FPCCI chief Pakistan's merchandise imports from the United States totalled Rs. 6,620 million against her exports of Rs. 2082 million during 1982-83, resulting a trade deficit against Pakistan of the amount of Rs. 4,500 million. To remove this imbalance, he has suggested that US Generalised System of Preferences (GSP) be reviewed specially in respect of textile exports.

He said the net benefit of US GSP was marginal because of duty rates ranging between 3 to 10 per cent. It did not comare favourably with the GSP scheme of the EEC countries.

Mr. Saifullah also suggested formation of a task force to identify projects in the private sector, which could benefit from the US loans and credits extended to Pakistan.

CSO: 4600/577

MUSLIM LEAGUE LEADER DISCUSSES ELECTIONS, TRANSFER OF POWER

Lahore CHATAN in Urdu 9 Apr 84 pp 11-16

Interview with S. M. Zafar, secretary-general of the Muslim League (Pagara)

/Name of interviewer and date and place not given/

/Excerpts/ /Question/ My first question to you is: What is the No 1 problem facing Pakistan?

/Answer/ The biggest problem facing Pakistan is the creation of institutions. Among these, the most prominent are political institutions, which we have not been able to establish since independence. Even the institutions that were once in existence have been subjected to a lot of tinkering and deterioration, and this process has advanced to such an extent that it has assumed serious proportions. In the absence of these institutions, the process of evaluation has stopped and violent tendencies in politics have intensified. In the words of Iqbal, politics is the most important aspect of life. He describes it as the brain of society. In other words, our society suffers from mental and intellectual frustration, and this frustration has become a sickness of the body politic. It can only be construed as a misfortune that over the past 36 years most of the time of the intelligentsia, the work of writers and the subject matter of speeches have been devoted to political and constitutional problems but to no avail. At the same time, the rate of progress in other spheres has been slower than expected considering the capabilities of our people.

/Question/ How do you justify the Muslim League proposal for forming interim governments at the center and in the provinces under its leadership?

/Answer/ The way I understand this proposal and the way I would like to present it is like this: If the present regime is not in a position to hold elections and if it is encountering difficulties in transferring power, then one solution would be to set up a political administration to hold elections. Earlier, the Muslim League has suggested the formation of a national government, but when other political parties refused to shoulder this responsibility, the Muslim League came out

with its present proposal. Under the conditions, the Muslim League is prepared to form a government provided it is given full authority to hold elections and transfer power. This is the logic behind this formula. Between the administration and a large political party--the People's Party--there is no mutual confidence. This has resulted in a political vacuum and the consequent political vacuum and the subsequent terrifying shape. Many formulas have been suggested, and the Muslim League proposal is only one of them. This can end the present state of no confidence because political parties, through mutual understanding, can end the present state of political vacuum. There is only one condition for the success of this formula and that is that the government be formed with the sole aim of holding elections and transferring power. Clearly, if there emerges another formula for transfer of power, that too can be considered.

/Question/ Does the majority of Muslim League officials and workers favor the idea of inviting President Zia ul Haq to participate in the Muslim League conference in Karachi on 14 August? Is it also possible that at this conference General Zia may be elected president of the Muslim League?

/Answer/ Such fabrications are designed merely to defame Muslim League workers and officials. I want to denounce utterly any reports that there are people in the Muslim League who favor inviting Gen Zia ul Haq to participate in the 14 August conference or that Gen Zia is being considered as the party's president. The Muslim League cannot even imagine such an unconstitutional and undemocratic step.

/Question/ A federal minister said in an interview that before elections are held it would be necessary to seek the people's views on three matters--the Islamic system, the security of Pakistan and the purity of society. The idea is to find out whether the masses are for or against these concepts. Now, Mr Zafar, is your party in favor of such a referendum?

/Answer/ Some values are so deeply cherished in a society that no one in his right mind would suggest asking people's views. The security of Pakistan, and introduction of the Islamic system are universally accepted in Pakistan and the Islamic system and the security of the beloved country are a matter of faith for the Pakistani people. The first and the last referendum on these issues took place in 1946 in the form of an election, and as a result, Pakistan was created. What kind of wisdom is it now to make these values a bone of contention in opinion polls? I call on the government to explain why a proposal so repugnant to the spirit and security of Pakistan was ever raised.

/Question/ One proposal for a referendum has come from the country's president. This referendum is to decide the issue of party versus non-party elections. What is your attitude toward this?

/Answer/ When on 12 August Gen Zia ul Haq announced his political blueprint, the Muslim League rejected it on the grounds that it did not clearly answer the question of holding elections on a party or on a nonparty basis. We were apprehensive that the question of holding elections on a party or nonparty basis would be raised later. And this is exactly what has now happened. By moot ing the proposal of a referendum, it has been made crystal clear that the government wants to hold elections on a nonparty basis. If the government has decided on this course, then why does it want people to incriminate themselves? Let it make its decision and face the music. Nonpartyless elections would not serve the purpose and as a result the transfer of power would be impossible. One suspects that what the government wants is not a transfer of power but rather a sharing of power. Obviously, in all sharing one looks for a weak partner who can be kept under one's thumb. An assembly elected on a nonparty basis cannot demand the transfer of power; it would be content to share power.

12286

CSO: 4656/140

GOVERNMENT URGED TO BACK SHARIAT COURT ON PRESS FREEDOM

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 17 Apr 84 p 3

[Editorial: Shariat Court's Decision on Press Ordinance]

[Text] A citizen recently submitted a petition to the Shariat court in which, among other laws, the 1963 Press Ordinance was also challenged. It stated that this infamous ordinance deprived the press of its freedom and the citizens of their fundamental rights and privileges. The object and aim of the government imposing the ordinance during its tenure of office was to save the dictatorial regime from any reproach and allow it to do whatever it pleases without fear of being called to account for its actions by the people. The Shariat court in its unanimous ruling on the petition asked the governments of all four provinces--Punjab, Frontier, Sind and Baluchistan--to make suitable amendments in the Press and Publications Ordinance of 1963 to make it respect the universally accepted principle of freedom of expression.

The irony of this is that every government in Pakistan pretending to be a staunch supporter of democracy verbally claimed to respect and favor freedom of the press and expression and the fundamental rights and privileges of the people but in reality always preserved these black laws as a place of refuge without making any changes or reforms in them. On the contrary, these laws were always used to threaten (the freedom of) the press and were implemented to the letter. This practice continues to this day. Despite claims made by the government that it has allowed the press a freedom never enjoyed by it before, the press is not free even today, and this constitutes the biggest problem facing the newspapers. The practice of advising the press continues to this day. Government does not want events taking place in the country to be reported in the newspapers exactly as they occur. The newspapers that do not accept press advice are punished in different ways; for example, advertisements are curtailed or even cancelled altogether, or the paper's newsprint quota is reduced. Even today a couple of dailies and weeklies remain subject to censorship.

Since this ordinance was passed, it has been condemned not only by newspapers and journals in every regime because they and their profession are directly affected by it, but various democratic institutions and organizations, writers, counsellors and judges and similar institutions have also raised their voice against it and demanded the immediate repeal of this ordinance. But these protests have been receding after falling on the deaf ears of

authoritative circles in the government. In this respect, the decision of the Shariat court calling on the governments of the four provinces to review the ordinance and take immediate action may prove to be a ray of hope in the current critical situation. Newspapers and journalists and their respective organizations have been demanding that these three laws be abrogated and replaced by a framework consisting of democratic laws meeting the demands of the press and containing values reflecting the honor and prestige of a free press, free society and free country.

The Shariat court in its decision assessed the ordinance from the Islamic point of view but at the same time kept in mind the national point of view and proposed some amendments with the sole aim of bringing about changes in the ordinance already in force in accordance with the demands of the time and the democratic principles of journalism. These suggestions are universal and make a note of the rights and interests of journalists and also contain restrictions that most of the people engaged in press activities have to accept and keep in view in connection with the classification, transmission and reporting of news. Organizations connected with journalism like CPNE [Council of Pakistani Newspaper Editors] and APNS [All Pakistan Newspaper Society] have voluntarily accepted certain restrictions and started putting them into practice, for example abstaining from writing against the ideology of Pakistan and Islam, etc. etc. This code of moral ethics is primarily the responsibility of the newspapers themselves. Such a code of ethics prepared by the newspapers about 1 1/2 to 2 years ago is lying with ministry of information and broadcasting. The government does not want the newspapers to enforce the code of ethics voluntarily; it prefers that such measures be enforced by a court similar to the Shariat court. Newspapers have indicated their willingness to respect the government's wishes and, as just stated, newspapers are already implementing the code of ethics prepared by themselves, as circumstances require.

The government has more than one law, ordinance and ways and means of preventing violations it fears might be perpetrated by newspapers. What is surprising is that despite having so many weapons in reserve, it still insists on using the press and publications ordinance and restricts the freedom of the press. If the newspapers are prevented from publishing facts and expressing their views on them they will lose the confidence of the people, who will start believing the news disseminated by the media of other countries, which is very dangerous. The press has been putting up with difficult circumstances, even at a great disadvantage to itself. Now the time has come for the government to assess the situation in the light of facts and figures and advise the provincial governments to start acting on the suggestions of the Shariat court.

9315

CSO: 4656/137

ZIA FACES PROBLEMS IN SEARCH FOR POLITICAL ALLIES

Lahore JANG in Urdu 18 Apr 84 p 3

/Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani/

/Text/ In the opinion of this writer, President Zia wants to conduct elections in such a way that afterwards he can be elected president if not unanimously at least with a majority. For this, it is essential that people be elected or nominated to the assembly and the senate who will help to insure this goal. The real challenge before President Zia is how to achieve the above-mentioned purpose. His entire strategy is being planned with this aim in view. When the President says that he will not ask for votes in exchange for his services, he is not saying anything untrue. This is because he will not be requesting for votes. He wants such people to get votes who in turn will vote for him. That explains the restrictions on candidates and voters. That is behind the contacts and connections with members of the Shauri. When the President says that he will not join any party, it is because he does not want to be limited to any one party's sphere of influence. He is aware that as soon as he joins party and accepts its leadership, then his rivals will mobilize and form a united front against his party. His strategy is that instead of joining any one party he will create pockets of support in as many political circles as possible. In this effort, some organizations come more to his mind than others. For instance, he finds the mood, attitude and temper of the Muslim League (Pagara) more congenial than that of any other party. That is why the chairman and members of Shauri participated in its convention. These people are the president's men in any case. There are two options before the president. One is to create another arm of the Muslim League and the other is to strengthen his power and influence in the Muslim League (Pagara). The thinking of the authorities and like-minded people in this connection has passed through several stages. It seems that if it is not completely disappointed with the League, at the same time it does not think the League has realized all its expectations either. Along with some elements who are ready to lay down a red carpet, the League also contains some tough nuts to crack. There are some who are ready to embrace and be embraced by Shauri, while there are others who will scorn these overtures. The authorities had at first decided that a company of ministers should attend the 23 March convention because of the impression that the League could be taken into the official fold,

but when estimates prior to the convention revealed that this expectation might not be fulfilled, a more cautious approach was adopted. One part of the president's team attended the convention but the official wing remained aloof. There are many advantages in this.

It appears that Pagara is not ready to offer his support on a platter without achieving its price. Thus, the authorities face problems in using the Muslim League in their strategy. Pir Pagara has not proved to be as easy a prey as he was supposed to be. He may be ready for give and take, but he is not willing to give without getting something in return, and he does not want to be exploited. Even so, most of the president's hopes rest on the Muslim League. In the Lahore seminar, President Zia mentioned for the first time that if he was interested in any party it was the Muslim League. This statement confirms that the Muslim League figures predominantly in his calculations. This is also an indication to the far-sighted political elements as to where they might best establish connections. If at this juncture President Zia shows himself ready to pay the price demanded by the Muslim League (as interim government), then he faces the real danger of a united front of all other parties against him. This is something he wants to avoid. Meanwhile, the pros and cons of an alliance are being weighed and a final decision will depend on the dictates of circumstances. If at some stage there is complete disappointment with the Muslim League, then the possibility of setting up a Shauri League cannot be ruled out. However, up to the last moment President Zia will not accept leadership of the League because as far as possible he wants to maintain his nonparty image. Some time back there was talk of giving Khwaja Safdar important responsibilities within the League, but this was in fact only a feeler. Pir Pagara is no novice in the game; he is sticking to his guns, and he will give only after he gets something.

So much for the president's difficulties with an alliance on which he had set the highest hopes. From this, one can guess that all is not well.

Now let us look at another alliance. The relations of the authorities with Jamaat Islami [JI] have been very congenial. It is far easier for them to establish personal relations with JI's leader than with Pir Pagara. There are many reasons for this, but this is not the place to go into them. The difficulty with JI is that it has extremist views, and these may not be acceptable to the official circles in toto. The closeness to JI may and does have political advantages, but it is difficult to pay the ideological price. Moreover, the president's chiefs, supporters and associates and advisors will not tolerate the kind of Islamization advocated by JI. An intimate relationship would have other negative results as well. One is that other elements whose support is also essential are allergic to JI, and it would be impossible for them to travel with JI very long and very far. JI itself has views on moral, religious and social issues that make it impossible for it to maintain

its puritan image while being part of a government that has a liberal approach to social and moral issues. Here it is irrelevant to discuss the extent to which the views of JI and its opponents are justified. All we want to show is that cooperation between JI and other possible supporters of the regime will not be clear sailing.

In other respects as well, JI does not have a wide base. And in considering an alliance with it, any sensible person would naturally weigh the advantages and disadvantages of such a move. According to our information, the authorities are having difficulties in aligning themselves with JI. They want to maintain its friendship but on their own terms. JI is also in a dilemma. It wants to remain close to authority and cannot afford to alienate itself, but because the government by its own analysis and evaluation is not prepared to pay the political and ideological price, there are problems in the way. Whatever the reasons, the president is having a hard time securing the full support of JI.

12286

CSO: 4656/144

FEDERALISM ISSUE EXAMINED, BUREAUCRACY CRITICIZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 8 May 84 p 4

[Article by Dr Hamida Khuhro: "Federalism in Pakistan"]

[Text] Today there is talk about whether this country should have a federal or a confederal system of government. Has the federal form of government been able to assure adequate participation to all the constituent units of the federation or does it need to be replaced by another more just and equitable system?

These ideas are basically the result of a sense of insecurity a lack of mutual trust. The situation has become so serious that people are asking themselves; is it now retrievable? Is it worth our while to make the effort even?

The fundamental national issue is what kind of framework is going to allow the peoples of Pakistan to exercise their rights as a free people, to be equal, not to feel that they are second class citizens and that they are being exploited. Those who have floated the idea of confederation are, in my opinion, loyal and patriotic citizens who want to save Pakistan. They 'recognise the fact that there is a breakdown of trust and disillusionment with the federal system and that if Pakistan is to be saved some drastic solution such as that of confederation will have to be adopted.

A restored and redefined federation, a federation that reflects the beliefs and aspirations and above all the trust of those who fought for Pakistan, and a federation which incorporates the basic terms and conditions that our fathers made in the great covenant of 23rd march 1940 can still serve the people of this great country and help them to live together as free and equal citizens.

Background

When the Quaid-e-Azam and his colleagues met to pass the Lahore Resolution in which they envisaged a federation of autonomous and sovereign states they were speaking with the authority of the history of the subcontinent behind them, where, in the course of thousands of years a number of ethnically and linguistically distinct states were formed. From time to time these states were linked together by an imperial dynasty be that of Mauriyas or/Mughals or the British. In the case of the states of the Indus we are linked together by these imperial

arrangements as well as the Persians and the Kushans but also by geographical proximity. It was Islam that gave the final distinction and definition to the peoples for when Sher-e-Bengal Fazlul Haq presented the resolution of 1940. The peoples of Sind, Punjab, Bengal, Baluchistan and Sarhad were overwhelmingly Muslim—and they decided to link themselves together in Pakistan.

The advent of the British in the subcontinent started a revolution which is still not over. The peoples of India were dragged from a mediaeval society into confrontation with a modern post-industrial revolutionary power which first conquered and then imposed the modern age on them. For nearly a century and a half in these regions, and a hundred years longer in Bengal, we have been going through the trauma of modernisation. This modernisation has meant installing not only railways and telegraphs, modern communications and space age technology but also the institutions of modern statehood: western legal codes, modern secular and scientific education, a growing middle class and the institutions of a western liberal society. Trapped by the logic of their civilisation and their mode of government, and after 1857 by the need to know the minds of their subjects, the British allowed the formation of political parties, very gradually associating Indians with the process of government. They allowed early and incipient representative institutions like local bodies and municipalities and eventually were forced by the historical events of World War I and the political movements in India to recognise the principles of federation and autonomy of the provinces in the reforms of 1919.

Incomplete and unsatisfactory though they were, these reforms for the first time gave an institutional framework to the historical phenomena of the nations of the subcontinent, while recognising the diversity and the principle of autonomy it provided the basic structure in which these nations could work together for a common destiny. The British failed to satisfy the aspiration of the Indian peoples however as they could not reconcile self government and autonomy with a strong central government which was the requirement of a colonial and imperial power. The result was political unrest and continuing demand for a greater measure of self government for Home Rule. Both Hindus and Muslims made this demand but the difference was that Congress wanted a federation with a strong centre and Muslims wanted autonomy for the provinces with minimum powers to the centre. Muslims felt that their majorities in certain provinces would ensure justice for Muslims in minority provinces and with some weightage in the Centre, they could ensure a fair deal for the Muslims of India as a whole.

This was the case which Mr. Jinnah took to the all parties Conference at Calcutta - a federal India and a few extra Muslims in the Central legislature - and he was turned down Bitter and disillusioned, Jinnah termed this 'the parting of the ways'. In the same year 1928 he came to Sind to fight the case for Pir Pagaro at Sukkur. Here the Muslim leaders of Sind including my father gave him a luncheon. While enlisting his support in the cause of the separation of Sind from Bombay. In his speech on the occasion Mr Jinnah talked to the All Parties Conference and of the blinkered views of the Congress leadership which was making constitutional compromise impossible and narrowing the options for the Muslims of India. He contrasted the attitude of the Hindu leadership with the Muslim leadership of Egypt which was also waging a struggle

for independence from the British. In order to enlist the support of the Copts of Egypt, Zaghlul Pasha had said to them 'We give you a blank sheet of paper, write whatever guarantees you want and we will accept them'. This, said Mr. Jinnah, was on the way to win the confidence of the minorities.

The Indians failed to produce an agreed constitution and the British passed the Government of India Act 1935. These reforms gave autonomy to the provinces (with some strings attached) but the federal part of the constitution was not implemented which meant that while the provinces experienced democratic politics, the Viceroy's Central Government remained despotic and absolute.

Autonomy satisfied their political cravings but failed to solve the economic and social problems of the Muslims in the majority provinces. They were handicapped by "weightage" which reduced their majorities and in Sind particularly allowed the inflated representation of minority to play havoc with political stability. It also prevented any meaningful economic reforms for the deprived and disadvantaged section of the community—the rural Muslims—of any redress. The Sind members were unable to carry through the Land Alienation Bill and the Debt Conciliation Bill which would save Muslim agriculturists/haris from the clutches of money lenders. Although the Muslim position in the civil services was improved it was not adequate or just for 75% Muslim population of Sind. Enough could not be done for education and rural development. It was these economic realities that brought the people of Sind firmly behind the Pakistan movement. In fact the Sind Muslims League Conference in Karachi in 1938 passed the resolution which eventually led to the Lahore Resolution of 1940.

Post Partition

In August 1947 Pakistan became a reality) truncated and mutilated but nevertheless a reality. When the veil of euphoria was torn away the stark position that Pakistan inherited was revealed, which was provinces with several decades of democratically elected legislatures with experienced political leadership and party systems and at the same time a Central Government which inherited the legacy of viceregal absolutism and bureaucratic control. The position was the same in India but there they had the advantage of a strong party organisation and experienced cadres, which was not equally true of the Muslim League organisation.

The initial error made in Pakistan was to take members of the bureaucracy into the Central Cabinet, who till 12 August 1947, had remained staunch to the British imperialist and colonial power and who formed the steel frame of their empire. The result of this decisions was disastrous. Sind bore the brunt of this disaster as it was closest to hand and had made itself vulnerable by offering its capital as the Capital of Pakistan.

A series of unfortunate decisions by the central cabinet of those early months gave serious blows to the fate of Sind.

The land alienation bill which had been held up for so long by the collusion of the Hindu capitalists and the British bureaucrats was finally passed by the Sind Assembly and was refused assent by the Governor General. The Central

Government continually interfered in the administration of the province and eventually took over Karachi as the federal capital area inspite of the unanimous vote of the democratically elected Sind Legislative Assembly against this step. The Premier of Sind who had the unanimous vote of confidence of the Sind Assembly was dismissed at the behest of the Centre.

From these beginnings we can trace the ills of the body politic of Pakistan. The Central Government failed to provide a constitution for the country or to hold elections. Provincial Ministries were dismissed at will and Chief Ministers chosen for their pliability. Democratically functioning autonomous provinces of Pakistan were reduced to puppets for the undemocratic, bureaucratically-controlled central government.

From 1954 onwards the Army became associated with the Central Government, One Unit and parity. In 1958 the first Martial Law was declared. Ten years of non-participation and bureaucratic control sent East Bengal out of the federation. Undeterred by these disasters a war was unleashed in Baluchistan against a civilian population. And recently an unarmed public confronted the armed might of the state in Sind.

We have now a third martial law and are threatened with a fourth. Provincial autonomy is a distant dream—democracy a mirage—the reality here and now is disillusionment of the people. There is a vacuum in our affairs. The question is, are we to wait for some power to fill this vacuum or do we have the gumption to save ourselves? If we want to save ourselves we must restore the trust of alienated peoples. Give us a blank sheet of paper, majority people of the Punjab! Let us write on it the kind of federation we want and the autonomy we want and then we can still save Pakistan, in the spirit of the Lahore Resolution of 1940.

CSO: 4600/576

REMITTANCES BOOM SAID COMING TO AN END

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 10 May 84 pp 1, 8

[Text] ISLAMABAD, May 9: The virtual end of a decade-long remittances boom is now officially conceded. Planners assume that from next year there may be a net return inflow every year of 10,000 to 15,000 Pakistani emigrants currently working abroad.

Indicating a definite slow-down in remittances, the Planning Minister, Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq, said today a revised strategy was now under formulation to meet this contingency.

Two main features of this strategy are (1) a new push to merchandise exports to make up for the loss of growth in remittances and (2) concrete measures to assure productive utilisation in small-scale industry of the capital which the returnees are expected to bring back to the country.

The Government's expectation is that a substantial number of returning emigrants may opt to become small entrepreneurs rather than seek new jobs. The contingency plan for them, therefore, emphasises the need for attracting them to small-scale industry. The small-scale industries corporations are being advised to offer them what he described as pre-packaged industry for which there would not be much need for feasibility studies or protracted sanctioning procedure. The new industrial policy due to be unveiled soon would specially cater to their needs.

The conclusion that the remittances boom may be over is based on the fact that after nearly 20-per cent annual growth for many years, the growth over last year's figure of over 2.8 billion dollars has been negligible this year. For next year also, planners anticipate a stagnant level, if not any steep fall.

While the precise projection of the remittances trend is not possible, the Planning Minister noted that there were some fundamental factors already operating to indicate that new growth from this source may not materialise. Apart from the competition of construction programmes in the oil-rich Gulf region where the bulk of our workers are concentrated the recent drop in oil prices had also led to drastic cuts in the development budgets of the countries in the area.

Workers remittances jumped to over \$2.8 billion in 1982-83 from a mere \$123 million in 1972-73 a year just before the first major oil price hike. Now they represent 50% of total annual earnings. Over the last one decade, they played a dramatic role in correcting an equally staggering imbalance between exports and imports.

CSO: 4600/576

RESTRICTIONS ON POLITICIANS' MOVEMENTS DENOUNCED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 10 May 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Restrictive Measures"]

[Text] PROFESSOR Ghafoor Ahmad of the Jamaat-i-Islami has, in a recent statement, described as 'unwise' the reported decision of the Sind government to prohibit the entry of Khan Abdul Wali Khan in the province. He has pointed out that in the past provincial governments have frequently resorted to such restrictive measures which are clearly detrimental to national solidarity. Though a spokesman of the provincial government has somewhat lamely denied knowledge of any such ban, the fact remains that this has been a common practice in the past. It is difficult to comprehend the logic behind the moves to restrain politicians of one province from visiting other provinces. It is not only an ill-advised and irrational policy but militates against the spirit of federation. Besides the fact that a citizen of Pakistan has the inalienable right to travel freely within his country, there is no justification for maintaining as many standards of judging the public conduct of politicians as there are provinces. If one is deemed fit for release from prison in one province, he should not be considered a threat in another.

Prof. Ghafoor's remarks should not be dismissed as a routine protest of a politician against curbs on political activity, but should be viewed in the broader context of the impending restoration of the political process. The President has repeatedly reiterated his resolve to hold the polls before March 1985 and has even described 1984 as an election year. Though the government wants to restrict the electioneering period to six weeks, it would be appropriate to give the politicians reasonable time to hold mutual consultations in a relaxed atmosphere. If the polls are intended to pave the way for an end to the prevailing political impasse, it would be in the fitness of things that the government embarks upon a policy of easing tension and creating an atmosphere of goodwill and trust. Co-operation between the regime and the politicians is an essential requirement for holding polls that are both meaningful and credible.

The recent release of Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Nawabzada Nasrullah had raised the expectation that other political prisoners would also be freed soon. But somehow the process seems to have got bogged down and given rise to the apprehension that instead of a general amnesty for all political prisoners the government might choose to be selective in the grant of freedom. That would be

unfortunate. The government should dispel the misgivings by according top priority to the question of political prisoners and hasten the process of their release without any discrimination. Besides big names like Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Asghar Khan, Rasul Bux Palejo, Mumtaz Bhutto and Meraaj Mohammad Khan, there are innumerable lower-ranking political prisoners. Among them are those unlucky ones who have been kept in captivity for years without any trial and there are also those who have received harsh sentences under Martial Law regulations for minor political offences. They should all be released, not only as a gesture of goodwill but as the first essential step towards the restoration of democracy to which the government is solemnly committed and which the nation so ardently desires.

CSO: 4600/576

COMMENTARY ON QUEST FOR DEMOCRACY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 10 May 84 p 4

[Article by G. M. Asar: "Margalla Musings: In Quest of Democracy"]

[Text] It is a cruel irony of our times that while we have callously spurned the political philosophy of the Quaid-e-Azam and thrown his constitutional concepts to the winds, we do not shy away from remembering him as the architect of Pakistan and Father of the Nation. Nor do we stint on the use of glorified epithets of veneration in the observance of the anniversaries of that great leader's birth and death which, however, is carried on year after year more in a ritualistic manner than as a duty dictated by the impulse of stirrings from within ourselves.

While we wax eloquent in eulogising the Quaid's qualities of leadership and extol his political sagacity in frustrating the sinister designs of Hindu chauvinists and their sympathisers in the coterie of British administrators who presided over the liquidation of the last remnant of their colonial empire, and shower encomiums on the Father of the Nation for wresting large chunks of the sub-continental territory from unwilling hands to set up an independent and sovereign homeland for the Muslims of undivided India, we have strayed away from the course charted by him for those who inherited his legacy. The dwarfs who succeeded the Quaid-e-Azam to manage the affairs of State bequeathed by him pale into insignificance compared with the man, aptly termed by Beverley Nichols as the 'giant', who was the maker of this country. All that followed, and continues still to loom on our horizon makes a fit subject for a dirge by the bards of the country today.

The Quaid had wanted Pakistan to be a "modern and progressive state", and it was for his votaries to have adhered to the dictates of their departed leader. He was firmly wedded to democracy and rule of the people through their elected representatives in a country where all its citizens were to be entitled to equal rights and privileges irrespective of their caste and creed, and their particular predilections so long as these did not militate against the law of the land. He was opposed to the very concept of a theocratic state with its inherent prejudices against nonconformists which militate against freedom of belief and tend to clamp a straitjacket on the polity. But we have veered away from the political doctrines of the man but for whom Pakistan could never have emerged on the map of the world.

Why is democracy, the Quaid had stood for throughout his life, abhorrent to some of us today? Democracy is to be viewed as a specific set of institutions and processes which underwrite dispensation of evenhanded justice to all citizens of a State and protect the legitimate rights of individuals. Democracy is not a set of nebulous ideas that can be twisted at will and distorted to suit the particular propensities of different regimes from time to time. According to sociologist Peter L. Berger, democracy in the modern world may be the most practical way to safeguard different traditions and values "because of the 'breathing space', it allows individuals and institutions other than the State".

Recognised today as an intellectual of calibre, and a well known scholar and author of a dozen books, Berger is currently teaching at the Boston University. Berger says: "If democracy did not exist, one would have to invent it. No matter how unwilling one may be to accept Western values and how desirous to pursue independent and indigenous paths of development--unless one wants untrammelled tyranny--there is no alternative to democracy".

It is obvious that our present wanderings in the political wilderness are manifestly contrary to the democratic destiny the Quaid had visualised for Pakistan. Attempts are now being made to support our tragic deviation from the course charted out by the architect of the country with fallacious and distorted interpretations of the heroic struggle for freedom. At the behest of Authority, or on their own to ingratiate themselves with the ruling elite, hack writers are projecting ideologies of dubious credentials to re-interpret the Quaid and re-write history. The Quaid's profound pronouncements are quietly underplayed or crudely misinterpreted. And what he actually did and said is being systematically submerged in a pompous plethora of commentaries tailored to serve the narrow interests of those toeing the official line.

Today, when President Zia, has promised a return to constitutional rule and is contemplating the holding of elections, the modalities of which remain to be clearly defined, there may be a ray of hope. But since the institutions established by the regime so far have been selective in essence, it is doubtful whether the democracy to which the Quaid had remained firmly wedded, would be allowed to strike root in the land, and whether the all-important principle - the institutionalised limitation of the power of the government - will at all characterise the system to be inducted. How long this drift will go on unchecked, it appears impossible to presage.

This scribe is reminded of a couplet from the epic of the saintly sage, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi:

ہر بنائے کہنے کا باداں کھنڈ
اولیٰ بنیاد را ویراں کھنڈ

(When old structures are to be renovated,
Their base is first uprooted and demolished)

The process of demolition of the edifice of democracy has been completed, but what takes its place remains to be seen!

CSO: 4600/576

REORGANIZATION OF PROVINCIAL SERVICE STRUCTURE UNDER STUDY

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 11 May 84 p 1

[Article by Saeed Qureshi]

[Text] ISLAMABAD, May 10: The Committee set up by the Cabinet in February to re-assess the provincial service structure is beset with certain thorny questions and conflicting proposals, delaying its job of finalising its report in the light of the official guide-lines.

The Committee, consisting of provincial Chief Secretaries and Establishment Secretary, was constituted after a summary on provincial autonomy submitted by the Establishment Division had been turned down by the Cabinet.

The summary had proposed certain principles, including equality of opportunity for career development and accountability, to be made the basis of reorganisation. It was also suggested that, in order to ensure effective law and order, more districts should be created and provided

more financial outlays.

The Cabinet, while appreciating the principles, observed that these were far-fetched, lacked realism and could not be followed in practice. The Cabinet further observed that while the District Management Group was the real beneficiary of the newly proposed structure, its sister service group, PCS, was ignored. The Committee was to examine the question of giving equal treatment to both DMG and PCS in matters of promotions and postings.

The proposal that the posts of Deputy Commissioners should be upgraded from scale 18 to 19 was not approved on the grounds that it hardly had any bearing on the qualitative improvement in the administrative system.

The dilemma of the Committee is that while its new members are from the DMG group the official guide-lines run counter to the interests of their group.

The real issue before the Committee is to scale down certain administrative powers of the district officers and recommend the same for the public representatives of the local bodies. The critics say that in the first instance the Committee is not broad-based as it does not include professionals like doctors, engineers, technocrats and other professionals who really matter in a provincial administration. Secondly, they say, people want administrative and

financial autonomy where the popularly elected representatives should have precedence over government officials. At present a DC is not answerable to the provincial administration but to the Federal Establishment Secretary.

He is also the controlling authority of the elected councillors. This empowers him to over-ride their decisions.

Internally, while the real ascendancy lies with the DMG members, the PCS officers are seldom considered for promotion to a post higher than that of an Assistant Commissioner. Additionally, good stations are invariably manned by members of the DMG, who are mostly said to be young and inexperienced.

The Committee is likely to draw up an outline by which more powers are transferred to the public representatives and the heads of districts are made accountable to the provincial chiefs. It is likely to suggest that the district heads should be experienced persons and lead a simple life shorn of bureaucratic grandeur.

Observers believe that if the Committee compiles recommendations in line with the Cabinet's guide-lines then it would herald a radical and revolutionary change in our provincial administrative system still functioning on the old colonial pattern.

SHARIAT COURT: WORKING, CASELOAD DISCUSSED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 May 84 p 3

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, May. 11: The Federal Shariat Court (FSC) since its establishment in 1979, has disposed of 1088 criminal appeals out of 1362 filed with it.

The court received 260 shariat petitions during the period. Of these 244 petitions have been decided so far.

This was stated by Chief Justice FSC, Mr. Justice Aftab Hussain, while talking to APP here on Thursday.

Reviewing the performance of the court during the last five years, he said the FSC adopted the principles of Shariah in discharging the responsibility entrusted to it. The court strictly enforced the Haddood laws.

He said there were numerous cases in which the FSC enhanced the sentences given by the Session Judges exercising their suo moto revision jurisdiction.

The court in only two cases concerning amputation of hands confirmed the sentence. Appeals against its decisions were now pending with the Supreme Court.

Regarding the jurisdiction of the FSC over the laws other than Hudood, the Chief Justice said that the cases relating to civil or public

laws did not fall in its jurisdiction. However, he added, the FSC could take up these laws to mould them in accordance with Quranic teachings.

The Federal Shariat Court had proposed a number of amendments in various prevailing laws and directed the governments to reshape them accordingly within the stipulated period. The government had been acting upon the FSC's advice.

He said it was very essential to bring all prevailing laws in line with Islamic Shariat to set up an Islamic judicial system in the country. The FSC had been fulfilling its responsibility in this connection, he added.

The Chief Justice hoped that the Qazi courts, expected to be set-up shortly would play a vital role in implementing these laws.

Replying to a question regarding the functioning of Islamic Ideology Council, the Chief Justice said that it had an advisory role and was supposed to send its recommendations to the government to amend certain laws according to the injunctions of Islam. As far as the FSC was concerned, its decisions were not advisory but

binding on the government.

Commenting on the Islamization of the existing laws, Mr. Justice Aftab Hussain said "this job had been pending since 1956 but when the responsibility was conferred upon us in 1979 to examine these laws in the light of Islamic tenets we considered it our duty to remove all the objections against them. We put in all possible efforts to accomplish this task and made tremendous headway in this direction.

He expressed the confidence that the government and the people of Pakistan would find them up to their expectations.

The process of Islamization of laws, he said, was a difficult job which could only be done by intensive research and with the help of very competent learned and experienced advisors, ulema, judges and legal practitioners.

The FSC had so far examined 956 laws determining as to what extent these were repugnant to the basic teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah or otherwise. Out of these 500 laws related to the provinces of Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan while the remaining 456 were the Federal laws, he added.—APP

CSO: 4600/577

OFFICIALS DISCUSS BIOGAS PRODUCTION FIGURES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 May 84 p 6

[Text] LAHORE, May 11: Pakistan can produce 2510 million cubic metres of biogas annually, sufficient to meet 1/4 cooking and lighting requirements of the rural areas, just by utilising animal waste and poultry droppings available in the country.

This quantum of gas is equivalent of 1556.2 million litres of kerosene oil, valued at Rs. 5446.7 million.

According to official estimates, there are about 75 million poultry birds and 25.5 million cows and buffaloes in the country at present.

In average, each bird gives 90 grames of droppings a day. One kilogramme of droppings has a potential to produce 0.045 cubic metres of bio gas.

The total gas which can be produced from poultry droppings is estimated at 110 million cubic metres and that from animal waste 2400 million cubic metres.

The government is trying to popularise the use of biogas in the country in order to scale down the oil bill.

As many as 500 small biogas plants have already been installed in various parts of the country which are in operation.

They save the country an amount of Rs. 2 million per year of kerosene oil equivalent. The capital investment on these plants was of Rs. 3 million.

Similar small plants would be installed in other parts of the country, according to official sources.

The Pakistan Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (PCSIR) Lahore has made small integrated biogas plants which give gas for cooking, light for lighting and fertiliser for crops.

CSO: 4600/577

BRIEFS

TEACHERS CONDEMN POLICE ACTION--PESHAWAR, May 10: The Peshawar University Teachers Association in an emergency meeting today passed the following resolution: "The Police without the prior permission of the Vice Chancellor, University of Peshawar accompanied by senior officials of the Civil Administration made an unauthorized entry into the Peshawar University campus. A very large number of policemen chased students across the campus making liberal use of their batons on almost anyone who was not in uniform. We are constrained to point out that the repetition of such an act would lead to unpleasant consequences which both the university and the provincial administration would like to avoid. This was an act of sacrilege with all its possible implications. An indiscriminate attack by the Police on students and other university personnel reveals the level to which we have descended. The Police seemed to be bent upon teaching the people a lesson, they clubbed people, abused them and even broke a few windows to establish who was the master. It appears that the police did not have the feel of the present situation. The association wants to register its protest over this attack. A university is a seat of higher learning and such a violent entry into its premises can only be condemned by all. The Peshawar University Teachers Association invites like minded people to join it in expressing indignation over this brutalization of a seat of higher education. Further more the unbecoming attitude of the Police and other officials toward the Vice Chancellor is strongly condemned. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 11 May 84 p 6]

ELECTORAL ROLLS BEING UPDATED--QUETTA, May 10: Electoral rolls are being brought upto date to in connection with the election to the parliament and the provincial assemblies, knowledgeable sources said here today. According to these quarters, documents on delimitation of constituencies for National Assembly and provincial assemblies appointment of election officers including registration and returning officers ballot boxes and ballot papers as well as election symbols are in the process of further scrutiny. Scrutiny follows instructions given by President Ziaul Haq at a meeting of Pakistan Election Commission at the federal capital. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 11 May 84 p 6]

KARACHI FISHERIES AUTHORITY ESTABLISHED--KARACHI, May 11: The Governor of Sind, Lt. General Jahan Dad Khan has promulgated the Karachi Fisheries Harbour Authority Ordinance, 1984, which comes into force at once. The Ordinance aims at establishing the Karachi Fisheries Harbour Authority with its head office within the limits of Karachi harbour. According to the Gazette notification,

the authority shall be a corporate body, having perpetual succession and a common seal, with power, subject to the provisions of the ordinance, to acquire, hold and dispose of property, both movable and immovable, and shall, by the said name sue and be used. The ordinance lays down that the general direction and administration of the authority and its affairs shall vest in the board, which may exercise all powers and do all acts and things which may be exercised or done by the authority. Working of the Board: The Board is discharging its functions shall act on sound principles of fisheries harbour planning, construction, operation, management and maintenance and shall be guided question of policy by such directions as government may, from time to time give. [Excerpt] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 May 84 p 6]

WOMEN IN ZAKAT BODIES--LAHORE, May 14: The Government of Pakistan is considering a proposal that women should also be given representation in the local Zakat committees, and for this purpose an amendment will soon be made in the relevant law. It is observed that the rehabilitation programme of widows and destitute women could not be effectively carried out in the absence of female representatives of women in the local Zakat committees. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 May 84 p 6]

TRIBESMEN ATTACK TRAIN--HYDERABAD, May 7: several hundred armed men of Baloch tribes took over control of the Karachi-bound Bolan Express between Jokhra and Notal railway stations today and made its passengers hostages for seven hours. It is reported that the armed group halted the Bolan Express by firing on it on the Karachi-Quetta railway section near Sibi. Due to the firing some passengers were injured and the train was also damaged. On receipt of information the authorities sent a heavy posse of police to the area. The Police after tear-gassing and heavy exchange of fire forced the attackers to flee. The armed men later blocked the Indus Highway and looted buses, trucks and other vehicles. Traffic between Karachi and Quetta section was closed for nine hours while the Indus Highway was also closed to traffic throughout the day. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 8 May 84 p 1]

FORMER UNIVERSITY TEACHER FREED--ISLAMABAD, May 10: Dr. Mohammad Saleem, a former teacher of Quaid-e-Azam University, was released from Haripur jail today after completing his sentence of three years rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 25,000. Dr. Saleem was arrested in November, 1981 by the Aabpara police along with two other teachers of the University for allegedly running a clandestine publication. A special military court sentenced all three for various terms. Tariq Ahsan had earlier been released after completing a two-year term, plus a fine of Rs. 10,000, while Jamil Umar, the main accused, who was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, is still in jail. Various teachers and lecturers associations throughout the country had collected the entire amount of fine imposed on Dr. Saleem who was today received by a large number of his former colleagues and students at the prison gates. After his release, he expressed gratitude to the people for contributing to the payment of his fine. All three teachers, Jamil Umar, Dr. Mohammad Saleem and Tariq Ahsan, were adopted as prisoners of conscience by the Amnesty International. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 11 May 84 p 8]

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